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THE
LIFE

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO:

BY

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.

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In Three Volumes.

*Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.*

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THE
L I F E
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

SECTION IX.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

CICERO was present at the death of Cæsar in the Senate ; “ where he had the pleasure,” he tells us, “ to see the tyrant perish as he deserved *. By this accident he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first citizen in Rome ; the first in that credit and authority both with the senate and people, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free city. The conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend : for they had no sooner finished their work, than “ Brutus, lifting up “ his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to

* Quid mihi attulerat ista domini mutatio, præter lætitiâ, quam oculis cepi, justo interitu Tyranni? Ad Att. 14. 14.

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“congratulate with him on the recovery of their liberty * :” and when they all ran out presently after into the Forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the city, they proclaimed at the same time the name of Cicero ; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act, by the credit of his approbation †.

This gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it ‡: but it is certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it : for though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature ; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their leaders, were all either too young to be trusted, or too obscure, even to be known by him §. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the city, for having had no share in it, nor any personal in-

* *Cæsare interfecto*—statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, *Cicronem* nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip 2. 12.

† Dio. p. 249.

‡ *Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum*. [Phil. 2. 11.] *Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset, molestus nobis non esset*. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

§ *Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse?* Phil. 2. 11.

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terest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honour, he must have been often reproached with it by Antony, and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit. I cannot however entirely acquit him of being in some degree accessory to the death of Cæsar: for it is evident, from several of his letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not only expected, but wished it: he prophesied very early, that Cæsar's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence, or of itself; and hoped to live to see it*: he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the city; which they expressed with great freedom in their letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius; and their impatience of a master; and cultivated a strict correspondence with them at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigour. On the news that Atticus sent him, of Cæsar's image being placed in the Temple of Quirinus, adjoining to

* Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse—nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus, nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se—id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad. Att. x. 8.

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that of the Goddess *Salus* ; “ I had rather,” says he, “ have him the comrade of Romulus, than of the Goddess Safety * :” referring to Romulus’s fate, of being killed in the Senate. In another letter it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his ancestors : “ Does Brutus then tell us,” says he, “ that Cæsar “ brings with him glad tidings to honest men? Where “ will he find them, unless he hangs himself? But “ how securely is he now entrenched on all sides? “ What use then of your fine invention ; the picture “ of old Brutus and Ahala with the verses under, “ which I saw in your gallery? Yet, what after all “ can he do † ?” One cannot help observing likewise,

* Eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad. Att. 12. 15.

† Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγελία? sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur φιλοδαιχνεμα illud tuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam & Brutum? sed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in Brutus’s, or more probably in Atticus’s house, adorned with the images or portraits of the great men of *Rome*, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, (in vit. Att. c. 18.) Atticus had severally described their principal acts and honours, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of these figures of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited by the example of those great ancestors to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It seems also very probable, that this very picture of Atticus’s invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or *denarius*, which is still extant, with the heads and names of these two old patriots; Brutus on the one side, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

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in his pieces, addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents ; putting him in mind at the same time of his double descent from ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory by delivering Rome from servitude. Thus he concludes his treatise *on famous Orators*.

“ WHEN I look upon you, Brutus, I am grieved to
“ see your youth, running, as it were, in full career
“ through the midst of glory, stopped short by the
“ wretched fate of your country. This grief sits heavy
“ upon me, and on our common friend Atticus,
“ the partner of my affection, and good opinion of
“ you : we heartily wish you well ; wish to see you
“ reap the fruit of your virtue ; and to live in a Republic,
“ that may give you the opportunity, not only
“ to revive, but to increase the honour and memory
“ of the two noble families from which you descend——for the Forum was wholly yours ; yours
“ all that course of glory : you, of all the young pleaders,
“ brought thither, not only a tongue, ready formed
“ by the exercise of speaking, but had enriched
“ your oratory by the furniture also of the severer
“ arts ; and, by the help of the same arts, had joined
“ to a perfection of eloquence the ornament of every
“ virtue. We are doubly sorry therefore on your account,
“ that you want the benefit of the Republic ;
“ the Republic of you : but though this odious ruin

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“ of the city extinguishes the use of your abilities, go
 “ on still, Brutus, to pursue your usual studies,” &c.

THESE passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular councils of the conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honour, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it ; he calls it, “ the most glorious act which had ever been done, “ not only in that, but in any other city : in which “ men were more forward to claim a share, which they “ had not, than to dissemble that which they had ; “ that Brutus's reason for calling out upon him, was “ to signify, that he was then emulating his praises, “ by an act, not unlike to what he had done : that if “ to wish Cæsar's death was a crime, to rejoice at it “ was the same ; there being no difference between “ the adviser and the approver ; yet, excepting An- “ tony and a few more, who were fond of having a “ king, that there was not a man in Rome, who did “ not desire to see the fact committed ; that all ho- “ nest men, as far as it was in their power, concurred “ in it ; that some indeed wanted the council, some “ the courage, some the opportunity, but none the “ will to do it,” &c. *.

* Equis est igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit ? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, occasio defuit ; voluntas nemini, &c. Phil. 2. 12.

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The news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation throughout the city : so that the first care of the conspirators was to quiet the minds of the people, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out therefore in a body, with a cap as the ensign of liberty, carried before them on a spear* ; and in a calm and orderly manner proceeded through the Forum ; where, in the first heat of joy for the death of the tyrant, several of the young nobility, who had born no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act ; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and, without any share of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the citizens from the Rostra ; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humour might turn, and know-

* A *cap* was always given to *slaves*, when they were made free ; whence it became *the emblem of liberty* : to expose it therefore on a spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the destruction of their tyrant. There was a medal likewise struck on this occasion, with the same device, which is still extant. The thought, however, was not new ; for Saturninus, in his sedition, when he had possessed himself of the Capitol, exalted a *cap* also on the top of a spear, as a token of liberty to all the slaves, who would join with him ; and though Marius, in his sixth Consulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate, yet he himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the slaves to take arms with him against Sylla, who was marching with his army into the city to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

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ing that there were great numbers of Cæsar's old soldiers in the city, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol*. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best and greatest part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid and lasting foundation.

Antony, in the mean while, shocked by the hardness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise; where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day†; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

While things were in this situation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to

* App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

† Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ; cum ex illa fuga—clam te domum recepisti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. Dio, p. 259. App. 502, 503.

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Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators ; extolling their act, as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honours due to the deliverers of their country ; then, throwing off his Prætorian robe, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him by a tyrant, and not by the laws. But, the next day, as he was going to the Senate, some of Cæsar's veteran soldiers, having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with volleys of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops*.

Lepidus was, at this time, in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of Spain, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of Gaul. In the night, therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of making himself master of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the conspirators : but, being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views : “ He represented the hazard
“ and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate, and
“ city, and all Italy were against them ; that the only way to effect what they wished, was to dissem-

* Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

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“ ble their real purpose ; to recommend pacific coun-
“ sels, and lull their adversaries asleep, till they had
“ provided a strength sufficient to oppress them ; and
“ that, as soon as things were ripe, he would join with
“ him very heartily in avenging Cæsar’s death.” With
these remonstrances he pacified him ; and, to render
their union the firmer, and to humour his vanity at
the same time, gave his daughter in marriage to Le-
pidus’s son, and assisted him to seize the high priest-
hood, vacant by Cæsar’s death, without any regard to
the ordinary forms of election*. Having thus gained
Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his autho-
rity and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite
party, till he had driven the conspirators out of the
city : And when he had served his purposes with him
at home, contrived to send him to his government, to
keep the provinces and the commanders abroad in
proper respect to them ; and that, by sitting down
with his army in the nearest part of Gaul, he might
be ready for any event, which should require his help
in Italy.

The conspirators, in the mean while, had formed
no scheme, beyond the death of Cæsar ; but seemed
to be as much surprized and amazed at what they
had done, as the rest of the city : They trusted en-
tirely to the integrity of their cause, fancying, that it
would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they ex-
pected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to
the defence of their common liberty ; and, taking it

* Dio. p. 249, 255, 257, 269.

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for granted, that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his partizans from aiming at the same power: They placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for, from this moment, he resolved, at all adventures, to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were masters of the city: His advice therefore was, to use their present advantage, and, in the consternation of Cæsar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, that Brutus and Cassius, as Prætors, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity*. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Consul; and, having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace: Cicero remonstrated against it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: He told them plainly, "That there could be no safe treaty with him; that
"as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise
"every thing; but, when his fears were over, would
"be like himself, and perform nothing: So that,
"while the other consular Senators were going for-

* *Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.*

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“wards and backwards in this office of mediation, he
 “stuck to his point, and staid with the rest in the
 “Capitol, and did not see Antony for the two first
 “days*.”

The event confirmed what Cicero foretold : Antony had no thoughts of peace or of any good to the Republic : His sole view was, to seize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it ; and then, on pretence of revenging Cæsar’s death, to destroy all those who were likely to oppose him : As his business therefore was, to gain time, by dissembling, and deceiving the Republican party into a good opinion of him ; so all his answers were mild and moderate, professing a sincere inclination to peace, and no other desire than to see the Republic settled again on its old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances, from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity ; and Antony summoned the Senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by some solemn act. Here Cicero, as the best foundation of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly, in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed ; to which they unanimously agreed. Antony seemed to be all goodness ; talked of nothing but healing measures ; and, for a proof of his sincerity-

* Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi : neque te illo die, neque postero, vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

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ty, moved, that the conspirators should be invited to take part in their deliberations, and sent his son as an hostage for their safety : Upon which they all came down from the Capitol ; and Brutus supped with Lepidus ; Cassius with Antony ; and the day ended to the universal joy of the city, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace*.

There were several things, however, very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use ; particularly, a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts : This motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and specify how far it was to extend : He assured them, “ That no o-
“ ther acts were meant, than what were known to e-
“ very body, and entered publicly on Cæsar's regis-
“ ter : They asked, If any persons were to be restor-
“ ed from exile ? He said, one only, and no more :
“ Whether any immunities were granted to cities or
“ countries ? He answered, none ; and consented, that

* In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum : Græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censeui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egrègia etiam voluntas : Pax denique per eum & per liberos ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est—Phil. I, I.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia ?—tuus pærvulus filius in Capitolium a se missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior ? quo populus Romanus ?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamus, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut.—

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“ it should pass with a restriction, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius ; that no grant, which was to take place after the Ides of March, should be ratified*.” This was generally thought so reasonable, and Antony’s seeming candour had made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not venture to oppose it ; especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla ; and, as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and possessions which Cæsar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony, than his outward conduct would justify : Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions,† and they knew his resentment of it ; and that he had been engaged with Trebonius, on Cæsar’s last return from Spain, in a design against his life : And though he did not perform that engagement, yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind, that he had not discovered it ; which was the reason of their sparing him, when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius’s taking him aside, on pre-

* Summa constantia ad ea, quæ quæsitæ erant, respondebat : Nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæsar’s commentariis reperiebatur : Num qui exules restituti ? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ ? nullæ, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæsar’s aut beneficii figeretur. Phil. 1. 1.

† Phil. 2. 29.

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tence of business, lest his behaviour, on that occasion, might provoke them to kill him too*.

But, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favour of the veteran soldiers, whom he had drawn up, for that purpose, in arms about the Senate †; and another, still worse, for the allowance of a public funeral to Cæsar, which Atticus had been remonstrating against both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the city; but it was too late to prevent it; Antony was resolved upon it, and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob ‡. In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble, being mistaken unluckily for

* *Quanquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est, vide quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus consilii societatem, eum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari.* Ib. 14.

† *Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præsidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?*—Ad Att. 14. 14.

‡ *Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter; servique & egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi.* Ad Att. 14. 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

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the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the rostra : This so alarmed all those who had any similitude of name with any of the conspirators, that Caius Casca, another Senator, thought fit, by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar*.

We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the citizens, against the murderers of Cæsar ; excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration : for it is certain that Cæsar, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favour ; but, on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death : the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cæssius the real favourites of the city : as appeared on all occasions, wherever their free and genuine sense could be declared, in the public shews and theatres † ; which

* C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsaris domum suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem sævire se existimabat ; iratus ei, quod cum affinis esset Cæsaris, adversus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Rostris orationem habuisset. —Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

† Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. salute una & mente & voce consentiunt. Phil. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium ? quid populi versus ? quid Pompeii statuæ plausus infinitus ? quid iis

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Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigour, in the defence of their common liberty, What happened therefore at the funeral was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, listed and prepared for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific councils, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen †, who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the Jews seem to have born a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their city and temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar, and, above all the other foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory ‡.

This first taste of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him; or to expect any safety in the

Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc significant, incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad. Att. 14. 2.

† Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

‡ In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, suo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæs. 84.

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city, where he had the sovereign command, without a guard for their defence ; which, though D. Brutus demanded for them, they could not obtain : whilst Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe *. They all therefore quitted Rome : Trebonius stole away privately for Asia, to take possession of that province, which had before been assigned to him ; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony : D. Brutus, for the same reason, possessed himself of the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul, which had been conferred upon him likewise by Cæsar, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to Rome, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty : M. Brutus, accompanied by Cassius, retired to one of his villas near Lanuvium, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take such measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

But as soon as the conspirators were gone, Antony resumed his mask, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden transport of a

* Heri apud me Hirtius fuit ; qua mente Antonius esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet & infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitatos animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere—placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præsidio : quod illos nobis concessuros non puto—Ep. fam. xi.1.

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vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius; and, by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, *to abolish for ever the name and office of Dictator*: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, “had fixed an indelible infamy by it on Cæsar, in declaring to the world, that for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular *.”

Cicero also left Rome soon after Brutus and Cassius †, not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, that the Ides of March had produced nothing, which pleased him, but the fact of the day; which was executed indeed with

* Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ potestatis obsederat, funditus ex Repub. sustulit. De qua ne sententias quidem diximus—eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus—maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc inusta est a te—mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Phil. I. I. 13

† Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad. Brut. 15.

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manly vigour, but supported by childish councils *. As he passed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "It is impossible to express," says he, "what joy there is every where: how all people flock about me: how greedy they are to hear an account of it from me: yet, What strange politics do we pursue? What a solecism do we commit? To be afraid of those, whom we have subdued; to defend his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer tyranny to live, when the tyrant is killed; and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty is recovered †.

Atticus sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given to the famed comedian, Publius, for what he had said upon the stage, in favour of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, then one of the Tribunes, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the theatre ‡: which convinced him only the more of the

* Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus Martias. (Ad. Att. 14. 6, 21) Itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus; consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

† Dici enim non potest quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—sic enim *πεπολιτευμεθα*, ut victos metueremus—nihil enim tam *σόλοικον*, quam *τυραννοκτονες*, in cælo esse, Tyranni facta defendi—Ad. Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus—ib. 9.

‡ Ex priore Theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus, etiam facetus mihi quidem visus est. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dicumpitur. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

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mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and, as far as possible, to persuade the city, that he was on the same side too : for which end he did another thing at this time, both prudent and popular, in putting to death the impostor Marius, who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar : where, signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief incendiary at the funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less than destruction to the whole Senate : but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the city, ordered him to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the streets * : which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans ; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction †.

By these arts Antony hoped to amuse the conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous councils ; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving Italy, and seizing some provinces abroad, fur-

* *Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat.* Phil. 1. 2.

† *Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum.* Ad Att. 14. 6.

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nished with troops and money ; which might put them into a condition to act offensively : with the same view he wrote an artful letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment, for outrages committed in the city ; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young Publius, her son ; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures Cicero, “ That he
“ had procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæsar ;
“ but did not intend to have made use of it, till he
“ had obtained his consent ; and though he thought
“ himself now obliged to support all Cæsar’s acts ;
“ yet he would not insist on this against his leave——
“ that it would be an obligation to young Publius,
“ a youth of the greatest hopes, to let him see,
“ that Cicero did not extend his revenge to his father’s friends——permit me,” says he, “ to instil
“ these sentiments into the boy ; and to persuade his
“ tender mind, that quarrels are not to be perpetuated in families : and though your condition, I know,
“ is superior to all danger ; yet you will chuse, I fancy,
“ to enjoy a quiet and honourable, rather than a turbulent old age :—lastly, I have a sort of right to
“ ask this favour of you ; since I never refused any
“ thing to you : if I do not however prevail with you,
“ I will not grant it to Clodius ; that you may see

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“ how great your authority is with me : shew yourself the more placable on that account *.”

Cicero never hesitated about giving his consent, to what Antony could and would have done without it : “ the thing itself, he knew, was scandalous ; and the pardon said to be granted by Cæsar, a forgery ; and that Cæsar would never have done it, or suffered it to be done ; and so many forgeries of that kind began to be published every day from Cæsar’s books, that he was almost tempted,” he says, “ to wish for Cæsar again †.” He answered him, however, with great civility ; and in a strain of complaisance, which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the man : but Antony’s public behaviour had merited some compliments ; and, under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe all the forms of an old acquaintance with him ; till, by some overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy ‡.

* Ad Att. 14. after letter the 13th.

† Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii : quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius literis cognoscas—quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis : quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facilitum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 10.

‡ Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. 11. 5.

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Antony made him but a cold reply ; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him only, that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleasure to himself*.

Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, was in Rome when Cæsar was killed ; but being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the city, she ran away presently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolerable to the Romans ; whom she seems to have treated on the same footing with her own Egyptians ; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a master whom she commanded. Cicero had a conference with her in Cæsar's gardens ; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disoblged him the more by not performing it : he does not tell us what it was ; but, from the hints which he drops, it seems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of his library ; a sort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæsar's fate, she was now forced to apply to him by her ministers for his assistance in a particular suit, that she was recommending to the senate, in which he re-

* Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescipsit, meam lenitatem & clementiam & sibi esse gratam, & mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad. Att. 14. 19.

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fused to be concerned. The affair seems to have related to her infant son, whom she pretended to be Cæsar's, and called by his name; and was labouring to get him acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared the heir of her kingdom; as he was the year following, both by Antony and Octavius; though Cæsar's friends were generally scandalized at it, and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book, to prove, that the child could not be Cæsar's*. Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæsar into the east, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great: for, after his death, Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, owned, that he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by Cæsar, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the sake of propagating children†. This was contrived probably to save Cleopatra's honour, and to legitimate his issue by her; since polygamy, and the marriage of a stranger, were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

Cicero touches these particulars in several places, though darkly and abruptly, according to the stile of his letters to Atticus. "The flight of the queen,"

* Quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

† Helvius Cinna—confessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset cum ipse abesset, ut uxores, liberorum quærendorum causa, quas & quot ducere vellet, liceret. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

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says he, “ gives me no pain. I should be glad to hear,
 “ what farther news there is of her, and her young
 “ Cæsar. I hate the queen : her agent, Ammonius, the
 “ witness and sponsor of her promises to me, knows
 “ that I have reason : they were things only proper
 “ for a man of letters, and suitable to my character ;
 “ so that I should not scruple to proclaim them from
 “ the Rostra. Her other agent, Sara, is not only a
 “ rascal, but has been rude to me. I never saw him
 “ at my house but once ; and when I asked him ci-
 “ vily, what commands he had for me, he said, that
 “ he came to look for Atticus. As to the pride of the
 “ queen, when I saw her in the gardens, I can never
 “ think of it without resentment : I will have nothing
 “ therefore to do with them : they take me to have
 “ neither spirit nor even feeling left *.”

Antony, having put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the first of June for a meeting of the senate, in order to deliberate on the state of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress through Italy, for the sake of visiting the quarters of the veteran soldiers, and

* *Regina fuga mihi non molesta. (Ad. Att. 14. 8.) de Regina velim, atque etiam de Cæsare illo. (ib. 20.) Reginam odi. Me jure facere scit sponsor promissorum ejus Ammonius ; quæ quidem erant φιλολογία, & dignitatis meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefarium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meæ vidi, cum φιλοφρονως ex eo quærerem, quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quærere. Superbiam autem ipsius Reginæ, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis : nec tam animum me, quam vix stomachum, habere arbitrantur. Ib. 15. 8.*

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engaging them to his service, by all sorts of bribes and promises. He left the government of the city to Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition to Parthia, had designed and nominated to the consulship: and though Antony had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct its effect, yet, after Cæsar's death, when Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the consul, Antony quietly received and acknowledged him as such at the next meeting of the senate *.

Cicero had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son-in-law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence; in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and, as soon as Antony had left the city, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as seasonable act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by

* Tuum Collegam, depositis inimicitiiis, oblitis auspiciis, te ipso Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi esse voluisti—Phil. 1. 13.

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the impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt ; with a pillar of Numidian marble, twenty feet high, inscribed TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Here they performed daily sacrifices and divine rites ; and the humour of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the city : for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets, committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, by demolishing the pillar and the altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders ; and causing such of them as were free, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the city : the whole body of the people attended the consul to his house ; and in the theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations *.

* Plebs—postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, scriptisque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem jure jurando, distrahere perseveravit. Suet. J. Cæs. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, et ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum—et quotidie magis magisque perditī homines, cum sui similibus servis, tectis et tem-

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Cicero was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his counsels: in a letter upon it to Atticus; “O my admirable Dolabella!” says he, “I now call him mine; for, believe me, I had some doubt of him before: the fact affords matter of great speculation: *to throw them down the rock; to crucify; demolish the pillar; pave the area*; in short, it is heroic. He has extinguished all appearance of that regret for Cæsar, which was spreading every day so fast, that I began to apprehend some danger to our tyrant-killers: but I now agree with you, and conceive better hopes, &c. † Again; O the brave act of Dolabella! what a prospect does it give us? I never cease praising and exhorting him—our Brutus, I dare say, might now walk safely through the Forum, with a crown of gold upon his head: for who dares molest him, when the rock or the cross is to be their fate? and when the very lowest of the people give such proofs of their applause and approbation ‡?” He wrote at the same time from Baia the following letter to Dolabella himself.

plis urbis minarentur; talis animadversio fuit Dolobellæ, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios cives, talisque eversio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2.—recordare quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri—vid. ib. 12.

† Ad Att. 14. 15.

• ‡ O Dolabellæ nostri ἀρετής! quanta est ἀντιπαράστασις? equidem laudare eum & hortari non desisto—mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster jam vel coronam auream per forum ferre posse: quis enim audeat violare, proposita cruce aut saxo? præsertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? ib. 14.

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CICERO to DOLABELLA Consul.

“ THOUGH I was content, my Dolabella, with your
“ glory, and reaped a sufficiency of pleasure from it,
“ yet I cannot but own, that it gives me an inex-
“ pressible joy, to find the world ascribing to me also
“ some share in your praises. I have met with no
“ body here, though I see so much company every
“ day (for there are many worthy men now at this
“ place for the sake of their health, and many of my
“ acquaintance from the great towns) who, after ex-
“ tolling you to the skies, does not give thanks pre-
“ sently to me ; not doubting, as they all say, but
“ it is by my precepts and advice, that you now
“ shew yourself to be this admirable citizen, and sin-
“ gular consul : and though I could assure them with
“ great truth, that what you are doing flows wholly
“ from yourself and your own judgment, and that
“ you want not the advice of any one ; yet I neither
“ wholly assent, lest I should derogate from your
“ merit, by making it seem to proceed from my
“ counsel ; nor do I strongly deny it, being myself
“ perhaps more greedy of glory than I ought to be.
“ But that can never be a diminution to you, which
“ was an honour even to Agamemnon, the king of
“ kings, to have a Nestor for his counsellor ; while
“ it will be glorious to me, to see a young consul,
“ the scholar, as it were, of my discipline, flourish-
“ ing in the midst of applause. L. Cæsar, when I
“ visited him lately sick at Naples, though oppressed
“ with pain in every part of his body, yet, before he

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“ had even saluted me, could not forbear crying out,
“ O my Cicero! I congratulate with you on account
“ of the authority which you have with Dolabella;
“ for, if I had the same credit with my sister’s son,
“ Antony, we should all now be safe: but as to your
“ Dolabella, I both congratulate with him, and thank
“ him; since, from the time of your consulship, he is
“ the only one whom we can truly call a consul: he
“ then enlarged upon your act, and the manner of
“ it; and declared, that nothing was ever greater,
“ nothing nobler, nothing more salutary to the state;
“ and this indeed is the common voice of all. Al-
“ low me, therefore, I beg of you, to take some share,
“ though it be a false one, in the possession of ano-
“ ther man’s glory; and admit me in some degree
“ into a partnership of your praises. But to be se-
“ rious, my Dolabella, for hitherto I have been jok-
“ ing, I would sooner transfer all the credit that I
“ have to you, if I really have any, than rob you of
“ any part of yours: for, as I have always had that
“ sincere affection for you, to which you have been
“ no stranger, so now I am so charmed by your late
“ conduct, that no love ever was more ardent. For,
“ believe me, there is nothing after all more engag-
“ ing, nothing more beautiful, nothing more love-
“ ly than virtue. I have ever loved M. Brutus,
“ you know, for his incomparable parts, sweet dis-
“ position, singular probity, and firmness of mind:
“ yet, on the Ides of March, such an acces-
“ sion was made to my love, that I was surpris-
“ ed to find any room for increase in that, which

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“ I had long ago taken to be full and perfect. Who
“ could have thought it possible, that any addition
“ could be made to my love of you? Yet so much
“ has been added, that I seem but now at last to
“ love, before to have only esteemed you. What is
“ it therefore that I must now exhort you to? Is it
“ to pursue the path of dignity and glory? And as
“ those do, who use to exhort, shall I propose to you
“ the examples of eminent men? I can think of
“ none more eminent than yourself. You must imi-
“ tate therefore yourself; contend with yourself; for,
“ after such great things done, it would be a disgrace
“ to you not to be like yourself. Since this then is
“ the case, there is no occasion to exhort, but to con-
“ gratulate with you: for that has happened to you,
“ which scarce ever happened to any man, that, by
“ the utmost severity of punishing, instead of ac-
“ quiring odium, you are become popular; and not
“ only with the better sort, but the very meanest of
“ the city. If this was owing to fortune, I should
“ congratulate your felicity; but it was owing to
“ the greatness of your courage, as well as of your
“ parts and wisdom. For I have read your speech
“ to the people: nothing was ever more prudent:
“ you enter so deliberately and gradually into the
“ reason of your act, and retire from it so artfully,
“ that the case itself, in the opinion of all, appears
“ to be ripe for punishment. You have freed us
“ therefore both from our danger and our fears, and
“ have done an act of the greatest service, not only

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“ to the present times, but for the example of it also
 “ to posterity. You are to consider, that the republic
 “ now rests upon your shoulders; and that it is your
 “ part, not only to protect, but to adorn those men,
 “ from whom we have received this beginning of
 “ our liberty: but of this we shall talk more fully, when
 “ we meet again, as I hope we shall shortly; in the
 “ mean while, since you are now the common guar-
 “ dian both of the republic and of us all, take care,
 “ my dear Dolabella, that you guard more especially
 “ your own safety*.”

In this retreat from Rome he had a mind to make an excursion to Greece, and pay a visit to his son at Athens, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require his presence to reform and set it right †. But the news of Dolabella's behaviour, and the hopes which it gave of gaining the only thing that was wanted, a head and leader of their cause, armed with the authority of the state, made him resolve to stay at least till after the first of June, lest his absence should be interpreted as a kind of desertion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave Italy, till he could do it without censure, and to the full satisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to desert on any occasion ‡.

* Ep. fam. 9. 14.

† Quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire. (Ad Att. 14. 13.) magni interest Ciceronis, vel me apotius, vel me hercule utriusque, me intervenire discenti. Ib. 16.

‡ Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique desiderant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero discedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.—vid. 16, 13.

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He had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party ; the late ministers of Cæsar's power ; Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, &c. But Cæsar's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had in a great measure broken their former confidence : and though the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Pansa and Hirtius, as has been said, were nominated by Cæsar to the consulship of the next year ; and, as Cæsar's acts were ratified by the senate, were to succeed to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the republican side, but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero seems to have had little hopes of success ; his account of them to Atticus is, “ That there was not
“ one of them who did not dread peace more than
“ war ; that they were perpetually lamenting the
“ miserable end of so great a man ; and declaring,
“ that the republic was ruined by it ; that all his
“ acts would be made void, as soon as peoples fears
“ were over ; and that clemency was his ruin ; since,
“ if it had not been for that, he could not have per-
“ rished in such a manner : and of Hirtius in parti-
“ cular ; he warmly loves him, says he, whom Bru-
“ tus stabbed : as to their desiring me to make him
“ better, I am doing my endeavour : he talks very

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ honestly, but lives with Balbus; who talks honestly too: how far they are to be trusted, you must consider *.”

But of all this set of men, Matius was the most open and explicit, in condemning the act of the conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humour with him, as a man irreconcilable to the liberty of the republic. Cicero called upon him on his way from Rome into the country, and found him sullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar’s death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him something which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus; that he used to say of Brutus, “ it was of great consequence which way he stood inclined, since whatever he had a mind to, he pursued with an impetuous eagerness: that he had remarked this of him more especially, in his pleading for Deiotarus at Nicæa; where he spoke with a surprising vehemence and freedom: And of Cicero, that when he was attending Cæsar, in

* Minime enim obscurum est, quid isti moliantur; meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cænat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noster sauciavit, et si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium: *υποθεσιν* autem hanc habent, eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20, 21.

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“ the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him sitting
 “ in the room, and waiting till he was called, said,
 “ Can I doubt of my being extremely odious, when
 “ Cicero sits waiting, and cannot get access to me :
 “ yet if any man be easy enough to forgive it, it is
 “ he ; though I do not question but that he really
 “ hates me *.”

There were several reasons, however, which made it necessary to these men to court Cicero at this time as much as ever : for, if the republic happened to recover itself, he was, of all men, the most capable to protect them on that side : if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more : for, if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of Cæsar, to prefer his heir and nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa therefore very assiduous in their observance of him : they spent a great part of the summer with him at different times in his villas, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions, and disposition to peace, and that he should be the arbiter of their future consul-

* De Bruto nostro—Cæsarem solitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit : sed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicææ dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum, et libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Sestii rogatu apud eum fuissem, expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum ; ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit ? Atque si quisquam est facilis, hic est : tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

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ship : and though he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded him that he was sincere *.

Brutus and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's villa at Astura, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometimes made use † : being yet irresolute what measures they should take, they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer ; and waiting particularly to see what humour the consuls would be in at the next meeting of the senate, with regard to themselves and the republic : and, since they were driven from the discharge of their prætorship in the city, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition, and declared, " that their conduct should
" should give no handle for a civil war ; and that they
" would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would con-
" tribute in any manner to the public concord, being
" content with the consciousness of their act, as the
" greatest honour which they could enjoy ‡." Their

* Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, se bene sentire et cupere pacem, &c. Ad Att. 14. 20. it. 15. 1.

† Velim mehercule Asturæ Brutus. (Ad Att. 14. 11.) Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo : modo et libenter fuerit et sat diu. lb. 15. 3.

‡ Testati edictis, libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. constaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis præbuituros materiam ; plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, &c. (Vell. P. 2. 62.) Edictum Bruti & Cassii probo. (Ad

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.---M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

present design was to come to Rome on the first of June, and take their places in the senate, if it should be thought adviseable; or to present themselves at least in the rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. They sent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech which Brutus made in the capitol on the day of Cæsar's death, begging his revisal and correction of it, in order to it's being published. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, "the oration is drawn with the utmost elegance both of sentiments and stile; yet were I to handle the subject, I should work it up with more fire. You know the character of the speaker: for which reason I could not correct it. For in the stile in which our friend would excel, and according to the idea which he has formed of the best manner of speaking, he has succeeded so well, that nothing can be better: but, whether I am in the right or the wrong, I am of a quite different taste. I wish, however, that you would read it, if you have not already, and let me know what you think of it: though I am afraid, lest, through the prejudice of your name, you should show too much of the Attic in your judgment: yet, if you remember the thunder of Demosthenes, you will perceive, that the greatest force may consist with the perfection of Attic elegance *."

Att. 14. 20.) De quibus tu bonam spem te habere significas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

* Ad Att. 15. 1.

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Atticus did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of Cicero to draw up another, to be published in Brutus's name: but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing that Brutus would take it ill*. In one of his letters on the subject, "Though you think me in the wrong," says he, "to imagine that the republic depends on Brutus, the fact is certainly so: there will either be none at all, or it will be saved by him and his accomplices. As to your urging me to write a speech for him, take it from me, my Atticus, as a general rule, which by long experience I have found to be true, that there never was a poet or orator, who thought any one preferable to himself: this is the case even with bad ones: what shall we think then of Brutus, who has both wit and learning? especially after the late experiment of him, in the case of the edict: I drew up one for him at your desire: I liked mine; he his: besides, when, at his earnest solicitation, I addressed to him my treatise on the best manner of speaking, he wrote word, not only to me, but to you too, that the kind of eloquence which I recommended, did not please him. Let every one therefore compose for himself—I wish only that it may be in his power to make a speech at all; for if ever he can appear again with safety at Rome, we have gained the victory†."

* Ad Att. 3. 4.

C 4

† Ib. 14. 20.

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In this interval a new actor appeared on the stage, who, though hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all peoples eyes towards him, *the young Octavius*, who was left by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent a few months before to Apollonia, a celebrated academy, or school of learning in Macedonia, there to wait for his uncle on his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to Italy, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, whither Balbus went the next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero near Cumæ, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law Philip: Hirtius and Pansa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius, with the strongest professions on the part of the young man, that he would be governed entirely by his direction*.

The sole pretension which he avowed at present, was, to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was

* Octavius Neopolim venit a. d. XIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. (Ad Att. 14. 10.) Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. Ib. 11.

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thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above eighteen years old : for the republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest, with the inheritance of the estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle ; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest, by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother, therefore, and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him to suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take : but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution ; declaring it “ base and infamous to “ think himself unworthy of a name, of which Cæsar “ had thought him worthy * :” and there were many about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the city, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him ; so that he was on fire to be at Rome, and to enter into action ; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

Before he left the country, Cicero, speaking of him to Atticus, says, “ Octavius is still with us, and treats

* Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris—sprevit cælestis animus humana consilia—dictitans, nefas esse, quo nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, sibimet ipsum videri indignum. Vell. P. 2. 60.

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“ me with the greatest respect and friendship : his
 “ domestics give him the name of Cæsar : Philip does
 “ not ; nor for that reason do I. It is not possible for
 “ him, in my opinion, to make a good citizen ; there
 “ are so many about him, who threaten the death of
 “ our friends : they declare, that what they have done
 “ can never be forgiven. What will be the case, think
 “ you, when the boy comes to Rome, where our de-
 “ liverers cannot shew their heads ? who yet must
 “ ever be famous, nay, happy too, in the consciousness
 “ of their act : but as for us, unless I am deceived,
 “ we shall be undone. I long therefore to go abroad,
 “ where I may hear no more of those Pelopidæ, &c.*.”

As soon as Octavius came to Rome, he was produced to the people by one of the tribunes, and made a speech to them from the Rostra, which was now generally possessed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him : “ Remember,” says Cicero, “ what I tell you : this custom of seditious harangues is so much cherished, that those *heroes of ours, or rather gods*, will live indeed in immortal glory, yet not without envy, and even danger: their

* Nobiscum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius : quem quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant, Philipus non ; itaque ne nos quidem : quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri posse, Quid censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt ? qui quidem semper erunt clari ; conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati : sed nos, nisi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum—ad Att. 14. 12.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius, P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ great comfort however is, the consciousness of a
 “ most glorious act : but what comfort for us, who
 “ when our king is killed, are not yet free ? But for-
 “ tune must look to that, since reason has no sway*.”

Octavius seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the city much better ;—the representation of public shews and plays in honour of his uncle’s victories. Cæsar had promised and prepared for them in his lifetime ; but those whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon himself †. In these shews Octavius brought out the golden chair, which, among the other honours decreed to Cæsar when living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and circus, as to a deity, on all solemn occasions ‡. But the tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away, upon which the body of the knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus sent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him § : but he was not

* Sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditarum concionum, ut nostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem : verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi & clarissimi facti : nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non sumus ? sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

† Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsar’s non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipse edidit—Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

‡ Dio. 44. 243.

§ De Sella Cæsar’s, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of Cæsar : and he was the less pleased to hear also, that Matius had taken upon him the care of these shews * ; since it confirmed the suspicion, which he had before conceived of Matius ; and made him apprehensive, that he would be an ill counsellor to young Octavius, in which light he seems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius, of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius ; which is deservedly valued, not only for the beauty of its sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to history, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæsar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

Cicero takes pains to persuade Matius, that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship ; and, to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him through life, even when in the height of his power and credit with Cæsar : but when

* *Ludorum ejus apparatus, & Matius ac Postumius procuratores mihi non placent.* Ad Att. 15. 2.

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he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes only in general, “ That
“ as Matius’s dignity exposed every thing which he
“ did to public notice, so the malice of the world in-
“ terpreted some of his acts more hardly than they
“ deserved : that it was his care always to give the
“ most favourable turn to them—but you, says he,
“ a man of the greatest learning, are not ignorant,
“ that if Cæsar was in fact a king, as I indeed look
“ upon him to have been, there are two ways of con-
“ sidering the case of your duty : either that, which
“ I commonly take, of extolling your fidelity and
“ humanity, in shewing so much affection even to a
“ dead friend ; or the other, which some people use,
“ that the liberty of our country ought to be pre-
“ ferred to the life of any friend. I wish that you
“ had heard with what zeal I used to defend you
“ in these conversations : but there are two things
“ especially, that make the principal part of your
“ praise, which no man speaks of more frequently or
“ more freely than I ; that you, of all Cæsar’s friends,
“ were the most active both in dissuading the civil
“ war, and in moderating the victory ; in which I
“ have met with no body who does not agree with
“ me, ” &c.*

MATIUS TO CICERO.

“ Your letter gave me great pleasure, by letting
“ me see that you retain still that favourable opinion

* Ep. fam. xi. 27.

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“ of me, which I had always hoped and wished ; and
“ though I had never indeed any doubt of it, yet for
“ the high value that I set upon it, I was very sol-
“ licitous that it should remain always inviolable : I
“ was conscious to myself, that I had done nothing
“ which could reasonably give offence to any honest
“ man ; and did not imagine, therefore, that a per-
“ son of your great and excellent accomplishments
“ could be induced to take any without reason, es-
“ pecially against one who had always professed,
“ and still continued to profess, a sincere good-will
“ to you. Since all this then stands just as I wish it,
“ I will now give an answer to those accusations,
“ from which you, agreeably to your character, out
“ of your singular goodness and friendship, have so
“ often defended me. I am no stranger to what has
“ been said of me by certain persons, since Cæsar’s
“ death : they call it a crime in me, that I am con-
“ cerned for the loss of an intimate friend, and sorry
“ that the man whom I loved met with so unhappy
“ a fate : they say, that our country ought to be per-
“ ferred to any friendship, as if they had already
“ made it evident, that his death was so severe to the
“ Republic : but I will not deal craftily : I own my-
“ self not to be arrived at that degree of wisdom ;
“ nor did I yet follow Cæsar in our late dissensions,
“ but my friend ; whom, though displeased with the
“ thing, I could not desert : for I never approved the
“ civil war, or the cause of it ; but took all possible
“ pains to stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory there-

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabellæ.

“ fore of a familiar friend, I was not eager either to
“ advance, or to enrich myself : an advantage, which
“ others, who had less interest with him than I, abus-
“ ed to great excess. Nay, my circumstances were
“ even hurt by Cæsar’s law, to whose kindness the
“ greatest part of those, who now rejoice at his death,
“ owed their very continuance in the city. I solicit-
“ ed the pardon of the vanquished with the same zeal,
“ as if it had been for myself. Is it possible there-
“ fore for me, who laboured to procure the safety of
“ all, not to be concerned for the death of him, from
“ whom I used to procure it?—especially when the
“ very same men, who were the cause of making him
“ odious, were the authors also of destroying him.
“ But I shall have cause, they say, to repent, for dar-
“ ing to condemn their act. Unheard of insolence !
“ that it should be allowed to some to glory in a wick-
“ ed action, yet not to others, even to grieve at it
“ without punishment. But this was always free even
“ to slaves, to fear, rejoice, and grieve, by their own
“ will, not that of another ; which yet these men, who
“ call themselves the authors of liberty, are endea-
“ vouring to extort from us by the force of terror.
“ But they may spare their threats : for no danger
“ shall terrify me from performing my duty and the
“ offices of humanity : since it was always my opinion,
“ that an honest death was never to be avoided, of-
“ ten even to be sought. But why are they angry
“ with me, for wishing only that they may repent of
“ their act ? I wish that all the world may regret Cæ-

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.---M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ sar’s death. But I ought, they say, as a member
“ of civil society, to wish the good and safety of the
“ republic. If my past life and future hopes do not
“ already prove that I wish it, without my saying so,
“ I will not pretend to evince it by argument. I beg
“ of you, therefore, in the strongest terms, to attend to
“ facts rather than to words : and if you think it the
“ most useful to one in my circumstances, that what
“ is right should take place, never imagine, that I
“ can have any union or commerce with ill-designing
“ men. I acted the same part in my youth, where
“ to mistake would have been pardonable ; shall I
“ then undo it all again, and renounce my principle
“ in my declining age ? No ; it is my resolution to
“ do nothing that can give any offence ; except it be,
“ when I lament the cruel fate of a dear friend and
“ illustrious man. If I were in different sentiments,
“ I would never disown what I was doing ; lest I should
“ be thought, not only wicked for pursuing what was
“ wrong, but false and cowardly for dissembling it.
“ But I undertook the care of the shews, which young
“ Cæsar exhibited for the victory of his uncle : this
“ was an affair of private, not of public duty : it was
“ what I ought to have performed to the memory and
“ honour of my dead friend ; and what I could not
“ therefore deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and
“ so highly worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also to
“ the consul Antony’s to pay my compliments : yet
“ you will find those very men go oftener to ask and
“ receive favours, who reflect upon me for it, as dis-

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“affected to my country. But what arrogance is
 “this? When Cæsar never hindered me from visit-
 “ing whom I would; even those whom he did not
 “care for; that they who have deprived me of him,
 “should attempt by their cavils to debar me from pla-
 “cing my esteem where I think proper. But I am
 “not afraid, that either the modesty of my life should
 “not be sufficient to confute all false reports of me
 “for the future, or that they, who do not love me for
 “my constancy to Cæsar, would not chuse to have
 “their friends resemble me, rather than themselves.
 “For my own part, if I could have my wish, I would
 “spend the remainder of my days in quiet at Rhodes:
 “but if any accident prevent me, will live in such a
 “manner at Rome, as always to desire that what is
 “right may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our
 “friend Trebatius, for giving me this assurance, of
 “your sincere and friendly regard for me, and for
 “making it my duty to respect and observe a man,
 “whom I had esteemed always before with inclina-
 “tion. Take care of your health, and preserve me
 “in your affection——*.”

* Ep. fam. xi. 28. This Cn. Matius lived long afterwards in such favour and familiarity with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of Augustus's *friend*. Yet he seems to have declined all public honours and business, and to have spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a splendid and luxurious life, which was the general taste of that age. For he first taught how to *inoculate and propagate some of their curious and foreign*
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Antony all this while was not idle ; but pushed on his designs with great vigour and address : in his progress through Italy, his business was to gather up Cæsar's old soldiers, from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled ; and by large bribes, and larger promises, to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them towards Rome, to be ready for any purpose, that his affairs should require. In the city likewise he neglected no means, which his consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening his power ; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided that decree, to which the senate had consented for the sake of peace, of confirming Cæsar's acts : for, being the master both of Cæsar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written *, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatever he found of use to him ; which he practised without any reserve or management ; selling publicly for money, whatever immunities were desired, by countries, cities, princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books. This alarmed and shocked all

fruits ; and introduced the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms : on which subjects he published several books, which are mentioned by the latter writers. Vid Columel. de re rust. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hist. l. 12. 2 : 15. 14.

* Τα υπομνήματα τῶν βέβηλευμένων ὁ Αντώνιος ἔχων, ἀπὸ τὸν γραμματικῶν τῷ Καίσαρος Φάβριον, εἰς πάντα οἱ παιδόμενον. App. l. 3. 529.

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honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy : Antony had the power, and their own decree had justified it : Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his letters, and declares it a thousand times better to die than to suffer it *. “ Is it so then ? ” says he ; “ is all, that our Brutus has done, come to “ this, that he might live at last at Lanuvium ? That “ Trebonius might steal away through private roads “ to his province ? That all the acts, writings, say- “ ings, promises, thoughts of Cæsar, should have great- “ er force now, than when he himself was living ? ” All which he charges to that mistake of the first day, in not summoning the senate into the Capitol, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and those robbers, as he calls them, dispersed and dejected †.

Among the other acts, which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, he granted the freedom of the city to all Sicily, and restored to king Deiotarus all his former dominions. Cicero speaks of this with great indignation ; “ O my “ Atticus,” says he, “ the Ides of March have given “ us nothing, but the joy of revenging ourselves on “ him whom we had reason to hate—it was a brave “ act, but left imperfect—you know what a kind-

* Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

† Itane vero ? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset ? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam ? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris, plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret ? &c. Ad Att. 14. 10.

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“ness I have for the Sicilians; that I esteem it an
“honour to be their patron: Cæsar granted them many
“privileges, which I did not dislike; though his giv-
“ing them the rights of Latium was intolerable: yet
“that was nothing to what Antony has done, who for
“a large sum of money has published a law, pretend-
“ed to be made by the dictator, in an assembly of
“the people, though we never heard a syllable of it
“in his life time, which makes them all citizens of
“Rome. Is not Deiotarus’s case just the same? He
“is worthy indeed of any kingdom; but not by the
“grant of Fulvia: there are a thousand instances of
“the same sort *.” When this last act was hung up
as usual in the Capitol, among the public monuments
of the city, the forgery appeared so gross, that the
people, in the midst of their concern, could not help
laughing at it; knowing that Cæsar hated no man
so much as Deiotarus. But the bargain was made
in Fulvia’s apartments, for the sum of eighty thou-
sand pounds, by the king’s agents at Rome, without
consulting Cicero, or any other of their master’s friends:
yet the old king, it seems, was before hand with them,
and no sooner heard of Cæsar’s death, than he seized
upon his dominions again by force. “He knew it,”
says Cicero, “to be an universal right, that what ty-
“rants had forcibly taken away, the true owners
“might recover whenever they were able:—he act-
“ed like a man, but we contemptibly; who whilst

* Ad. Att. 14. 12.

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“ we hate the author, yet maintain his acts*.” By these methods Antony presently amassed infinite sums of money ; for though at the time of Cæsar’s death he owed, as Cicero told him, above three hundred thousand pounds, yet within less than a fortnight after it he had paid off the whole debt †.

There was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the city ; his seizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had deposited for the occasions of the government, in the temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money ; besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar’s wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million. This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman empire ; and that Cæsar was of all men the most rapacious in extorting it ; Cicero, alluding to the manner in which it was raised, calls it a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects ; which, if it were not restored, as it ought

* *Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitem Regis sententia, facta in gynæceo : quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsar’s, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta essent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil. 2. 37.*

† *Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis debuisti, quonam in modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti ?—Phil. 2. 37.*

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to be, to the true owners, might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes*.

But Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers; and he was now in condition to outbid any competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of his colleague Dolabella, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the city and the country was clearly against him: the town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable of Italy, had lately chosen the two Brutus's and Cassius for their patrons †, and there wanted nothing but a leader to arm the whole empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero says, by force of money, he not only deserted, but overturned the republic ‡.

* Ubi est septies millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ sunt ad Opis patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, sed tamen, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Phil. 2. 27. it. Phil. 1. 7. it. Plut. reh. in Ant.

† Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Cassium & Brutum Patronos adoptassent. Phil. 2. 41.

‡ Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cœpisset, non modo deseruerit, emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

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These proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the senate on the first of June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and to convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favourable thoughts of Antony : he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the senate itself, under his influence : and thought it time therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS,
Consul.

“ If we were not persuaded of your sincerity and
“ good will towards us, we should not have written
“ this to you ; which, out of the kind disposition that
“ you bear to us, you will take without doubt in good
“ part. We are informed that a great multitude of
“ veteran soldiers is already come to Rome, and a
“ much greater expected there on the first of June.
“ If we could harbour any suspicion or fear of you,
“ we should be unlike ourselves : yet surely, after
“ we had put ourselves into your power, and by your
“ advice dismissed the friends, whom we had about
“ us from the great towns, and that not only by pub-
“ lic edict, but by private letters, we deserve to be
“ made acquainted with your designs ; especially in
“ an affair which relates to ourselves. We beg of
“ you therefore to let us know what your intentions

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“ are with regard to us. Do you think that we can
“ be safe in such a crowd of veterans? who have
“ thoughts, we hear, even of rebuilding the altar ;
“ which no man can desire or approve, who wishes
“ our safety and honour. That we had no other view
“ from the first but peace, nor sought any thing else
“ but the public liberty, the event shews. No body
“ can deceive us, but you ; which is not certainly
“ agreeable to your virtue and integrity : but no man
“ else has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted,
“ and shall trust to you alone. Our friends are un-
“ der the greatest apprehensions for us : for though
“ they are persuaded of your integrity, yet they re-
“ flect, that a multitude of veterans may sooner be
“ pushed on to any violence by others, than restrain-
“ ed by you. We desire an explicit answer to all
“ particulars: for it is silly and trifling to tell us, that
“ the veterans are called together, because you in-
“ tend to move the senate in their favour in June:
“ for who do you think will hinder it, when it is cer-
“ tain that we shall not ? No body ought to think us
“ too fond of life, when nothing can happen to us,
“ but with the ruin and confusion of all things *.”

During Cicero's stay in the country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those philosophical pieces, which still subsist both to the

* Ep. fam. xi. 2.

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pleasure and benefit of mankind : For he now composed his Treatise on the *Nature of the Gods*, in three books, addressed to Brutus ; containing the opinions of all the philosophers who had ever written any thing on that argument : to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance ; which would inform them what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the Gods*. He drew up likewise his discourse on divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man : where he explains in two books whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue ; of which he gives the following account : “ Since Carneades,” says he, “ has argued both acutely and copiously against divination, in answer to the Stoics, I am now enquiring what judgment we ought to form concerning it : and, for fear of giving my assent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or not sufficiently understood, I think it best to do, what I have already done, in my *three books on the nature of the Gods*, weigh and compare diligently all the arguments with each other : for as rashness of assent and error is in all cases shameful, so most of all in

* De Nat. Deor. i. 6.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ that, where we are to judge what stress is to be
 “ laid on auspices, and things of a divine and religi-
 “ ous nature ; for the danger is, lest either by ne-
 “ glecting them, we involve ourselves in an impiety,
 “ or by embracing them, in an old woman’s super-
 “ stition *,” He now also wrote his piece *on the Advan-
 advantages of Old Age*, called Cato, from the chief speak-
 er in the dialogue : he addressed it to Atticus, as a
 lecture of common comfort to them both, in that
 gloomy scene of life on which they were entering ;
 having found so much pleasure, he says, in writing
 it, that it not only eased him of all the complaints of
 age, but made age itself even agreeable and chear-
 ful to him †. He added soon after another present
 of the same kind to Atticus, *a Treatise on Friendship* :
 “ a subject,” he says, “ both worthy to be known to
 “ all, and peculiarly adapted to the case of their par-
 “ ticular intimacy : for as I have already written of
 “ age, an old man to an old man ; so now, in the per-
 “ son of a sincere friend, I write on friendship to my
 “ friend.” This is written also in dialogue, the chief
 speaker of which is Lælius ; who, in a conversation
 with his two sons in law, Fannius and Scævola, upon
 the death of P. Scipio, and the memorable friendship
 that had subsisted between them, took occasion, at

* De Divin. 1. 4.

† Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non
 modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem
 etiam & jucundum senectutem. Cato. 1.

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their desire, to explain to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old stories to his scholars, used to relate to them with pleasure all the particulars of this dialogue, which Cicero, having committed to his memory, dressed up afterwards in his own manner into the present form*. Thus this agreeable book, which when considered only as an invention or essay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a history, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of Rome. He now also wrote his discourse *On Fate*; which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Puteoli, where they spent several days together in May: and he is supposed to have finished about the same time, a translation of Plato's famous dialogue, called, *Timæus on the Nature and Origin of the Universe*.

But he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands; *A History of his Own Times*, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppres-

* Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est—sed ut tum ad senem senex de Senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi—& cum Scævola—exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum, & cum altero genere C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

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sion of the republic, especially Cæsar and Crassus. This he calls his *Anecdote*; a work not to be published, but to be shewn only to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an historian, famed for his severe and invective style *. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue it down through Cæsar's government: but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate at large *the justice of killing a tyrant*. We meet with several hints of this design in his letters: in one to Atticus, he says, "I have
 " not yet polished my Anecdote to my mind: as to
 " what you would have me add, it will require a se-
 " parate volume: but believe me, I could speak more
 " freely and with less danger against that detested
 " party, whilst the tyrant himself was alive, than
 " now when he is dead. For he, I know not why,
 " indulged me wonderfully: but now, which way
 " soever we stir, we are called back, not only to
 " Cæsar's acts, but to his very thoughts. Again; I
 " do not well understand what you would have me
 " write: is it, that the tyrant was killed according to
 " the strict laws of justice? Of that I shall both speak
 " and write my thoughts fully on another occasion †."

* Ad Att. 2. 6. Dionys. Halic. Proæm. 1.

† Librum meum illum *ἀνέκδοτον* nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Isto vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam separatum volumen expectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris non modo
 acta,

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His other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work ; for Trebonius, in a letter to him from Athens, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, “ I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of Cæsar, you will give me not the least share, both of that act, and of your affection *.” Dion Cassius says, “ that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death ;” but from this time he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished ; though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars †.

In the end of May he began to move towards Rome, in order to assist at the senate on the first of June, and proposed to be at Tusculum on the twenty-sixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of letters between him and Brutus, who desired a personal conference with him at Lanuvium ; in which Cicero resolved to humour him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when, without any particular

acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. (Ad Att. 14. 17.) Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere —an sic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum ? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

* Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. fam. 12. 16.

† Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. candid.

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use, it would only give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the city, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it: he understood that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that he designed to transfer the province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people*. Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word, that the veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favour them: Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the senate; but to withdraw himself from that city, where he had not only flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity†. The major part of the senate followed his example, and fled out of the city, for fear of some violence, leaving the consuls, with

* Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone—Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

|| Hirtius jam in Tusculano est, mihiq; ut absim, vehementer auctor est; & ille quidem periculi causa—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit—in qua scriptum erat veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

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a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit †.

This turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to prosecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens. He despaired of any good from these consuls, and intended to see Rome no more till their successors entered into office ; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to Dolabella to procure him the grant of an honorary lieutenancy ; and lest Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better, for, without obliging him to any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go wherever he pleased : so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey *. He heard in the meanwhile from Balbus, that the senate would be held again on the fifth ; when commissions would be

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur.—Id quidem mihi non videbatur ; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

† Kalendis Junii cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

* Etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur—(Ad Att. 8.) Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me sibi legavit, &c. ib. 11.

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granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the republic : and that it would be decreed also at the same time, that provinces should be assigned to them, with the other prætors, at the expiration of the year †.

Their case at this time was very remarkable ; it being wholly new in Rome to see prætors driven out of the city, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year : but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws ‡ ; being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible ; stript of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection : their friends therefore at Rome had been soliciting the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the republic ||.

† A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum et ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram ! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti iis et reliquis Prætoribus provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

‡ Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies abfuisset ? Phil. 2. 13.

|| Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐμπόριον ἢ βελή σίτος φροντισαὶ προστάζειν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοντο. Appian. Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

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This was the ground of the commission just mentioned, to buy corn ; which seemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with the greatest respect §. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy ; where their persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all now in motion ; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the republic : which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero, in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hir-
tius, who gave him the following answer :

“ I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be pre-
“ vailed with by you as easily to lay aside all crafty
“ counsels, as they can obtain by you from me what-
“ ever they desire. They were leaving Italy, you
“ say, when they wrote to you : whither ? or where-
“ fore ? do not let them go, I beseech you, my dear
“ Cicero : nor suffer the republic to be wholly lost ;

§ Frumentum imponere—quid munus in Rep. sordidius ?
(Ad Att. 15. 10.) Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos ta-
men ipsi Consules et in concionibus et in omni sermone laudabant.
Phil. 1. 2.

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“ though overwhelmed indeed already by these rapines, burnings, murders. If they are afraid of any thing, let them be upon their guard ; but act nothing offensively : they will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the more by the most vigorous, than the most pacific measures, if they use but caution. The things which are now stirring cannot last long ; but, if made the subject of war, will acquire present strength to hurt. Let me know your opinion of what may be expected from them.”—Cicero sent him word, that he would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate ; and was informed at the same time by Balbus, that Servilia, Brutus’s mother, had undertaken that they should not leave Italy*.

Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar’s mistresses, and, next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all : in the civil war, he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations ; and is said to have bought a single jewel for her, at the price of about 50,000*l.* †. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarean party, and at this very time possessed the estate and villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, which had been confiscated, and granted to her by

* Cui rescripsi nihil illos callidius cogitare, idque confirmavi—Balbus ad me—Serviliam confirmare non discessuros. Ad Att. 15. 6.

† Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam,—cui Sexages H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Suet. J. Cæs. 52.

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Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among the solecisms of the times, that the mother of the tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices ‡ : yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust : “ When he is influenced so much,” says he, “ by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself || ?”

At their desire, however, he went over to them at Antium, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present, among others, Favonius, Servilia, Portia, Brutus's wife, and his sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius : Brutus was much pleased at his coming ; and, after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, “ that Brutus should go to Asia, and undertake the affair of the corn ; that the only thing to be done at present was, to provide for their safety ; that their safety was a certain benefit to the republic — here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested that he would not

‡ Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa ὑποδόλαια : Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri. Ad Att. 13. 21.

|| Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam ? Ad Att. 15. 10.

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“ go to Sicily, nor accept as a favour, what was in-
“ tended as an affront ; but would go to Achaia——
“ Brutus said, that he would go to Rome, if Cicero
“ thought it proper for him——but Cicero declared
“ it impossible for him to be safe there——but sup-
“ posing, says he, that I could be safe : why then,
“ says Cicero, I should advise it by all means, as the
“ best thing which you could do, and better than
“ any province——after much discourse and com-
“ plaining for the loss of their opportunities, for
“ which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus,
“ Cicero said, that though that was true, yet it was
“ vain to talk of what was past ; and, as the case
“ then stood, he saw nothing left, but to follow his
“ advice——to which they all at last seemed to a-
“ gree, especially when Servilia undertook, by her
“ mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of
“ their commission : and Brutus consented, that the
“ plays and shews, with which he was to entertain
“ the city shortly as prætor, should be given by
“ proxy in his absence——Cicero took his leave,
“ pleased with nothing in the conference, but the
“ consciousness of having done his duty : for as to
“ the rest, he gave all, he says, for lost ; found the
“ vessel, not only broken, but shattered to pieces,
“ and neither prudence, reason, or design in what
“ they were doing : so that, if he had any doubt be-
“ fore, he had none now, but longed to get abroad
“ as soon as possible—*.

* Ad Att. 15. 11. 12.

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OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to Rome, was very roughly received by Antony ; who, despising his age and want of experience, was so far from treating him as Cæsar's heir, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretensions, nor would suffer him to be chosen tribune, to which he aspired, with the seeming favour of the people, in the room of that Cinna, who was killed at Cæsar's funeral †. This necessarily drew the regard of the republican party towards him ; and Cicero began to take the more notice of him, in proportion as Antony grew more and more formidable : At present, he gives the following account of him. “ Octavianus, I perceive, has parts
“ and spirit, and seems to be affected, as we could
“ wish, towards our heroes : but how far we may
“ trust his age, name, succession, education, is a mat-
“ ter of great deliberation : his father-in-law, who
“ came to see me at Astura, thinks not at all. He
“ must be cherished, however, if for nothing else,
“ yet to keep him at a distance from Antony. Mar-
“ cellus acts nobly, if he instils into him a good dis-
“ position towards our friends : he seemed to be
“ much influenced by him, but to have no confi-
“ dence in Pansa and Hirtius : his natural disposition
“ is good, if it does but hold ‡.”

† In locum tribuni pl. forte demortui candidatum petito rem se ostendit—sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio Consule—Sueton. August. x. Dio. 272. App. 526.

‡ Ad Att. 15. 2.

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In the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardour; and, to avoid the great resort of company which interrupted him at his house near Baiæ, he removed to his Pompeian villa, on the south side of Naples. Here he began his *Book of Offices*, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an oration, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at his discretion; promising him withal to finish and send him, in a short time, *his secret history or anecdote, in the manner of Heracles*, to be kept close in his cabinet ||.

Before he could leave Italy, he was obliged to return to Tusculum, to settle his private affairs, and provide his equipage; and wrote to Dolabella to give orders for the mules and other necessities, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character §. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most sincere and tender affection.

|| Nos hic φιλοσοφούμενα (quid enim aliud)? et τὰ περὶ τῆ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus, προσηνέμεν que Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti—

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum—jam probo Ἡρακλείδιον, præsertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

§ Ib. 18.

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The unsettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances, they were to meet again, raised several melancholy reflections on them both, which, as soon as they parted, drew tears from Atticus, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promise to follow him into Greece. Cicero answered him with equal tenderness: “It moved me,” says he, “to hear of the tears which you shed after you left me: had you done it in my presence, I should have dropt perhaps all thoughts of my journey. That part however pleases me, where you comfort yourself with the hopes of our meeting again shortly: which expectation indeed is what chiefly supports me: I will write to you perpetually; give you an account of every thing which relates to Brutus; send you very shortly *my treatise on glory*; and finish for you the other work, to be locked up with your treasure *,” &c.

* Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam. Quod si me præsentem fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi tempore congregiendi: quæ quidem expectatio me maxime sustentat. Mææ tibi literæ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de *gloria*. Excudam aliquid *Ἠξέλιον*, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B.—The treatise here mentioned *on Glory*, which he sent soon after to Atticus, and published in two books, was actually preserved, and subsisting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to perish unhappily for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art—Raimundus Superantius made a present of it to Petrarch, who, as he tells the story in one of his epistles, lent it to his schoolmaster, who, being

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These little passages from familiar letters, illustrate more effectually the real characters of men, than any of their more specious and public acts. It is commonly thought the part of a statesman, to divest himself of every thing natural, and banish every passion that does not serve his interest or ambition: but here we see a quite different character, one of the greatest statesmen of the world cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship; as knowing them to be designed equally by nature for the comfort as well of public as private life.

Atticus likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the goodness of his nature to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an

ing old and poor, pawned it for the relief of his necessities into some unknown hand, whence Petrarch could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries after, it appeared to have been in the possession of Bernardus Justinianus, and was mentioned in the catalogue of his books, which he bequeathed to a monastery of nuns; but, when it could not be found in that monastery, after the strictest search, it was generally believed, that Petrus Alcyonius, who was physician to that house, and had the free use of the library, had stolen it; and, after transcribing as much of it as he could into his own writings, had destroyed the original, for fear of a discovery; it being observed by the critics, that, in his book *de exilio*, there were many bright passages, not well connected with the rest of the work, which seemed to be above his taste and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. x. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcyonius. Menagiana, Vol. IV. p. 86.

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excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness ; which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. “ I rejoice,” says he, “ to perceive that you take so much delight in your little girl. I love her already myself, and know her to be amiable, though I have never seen her. Adieu then to Patro, and all your Epicurean school.” In another letter : “ I am mightily pleased with the fondness that you express for your little daughter ; and to see you feel at last, that the love of our children does not flow from habit or fashion, but from nature : for if that be not so, there can be no natural conjunction between one man and another, without which all society must necessarily be dissolved *.”

There was now great expectation of the shews and plays which Brutus, as prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honour of Apollo, on the third of July ; and all people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg that he would grace them with his presence : but Cicero thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus’s usual prudence. His answer was, “ that he was got too far upon his journey to

* *Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo ; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen et amo, et amabilem esse certio scio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron et tui condiscipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19. it. 7. 20.*

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“ have it now in his power ; and that it would be
 “ very improper for him, who had not been in Rome
 “ since it was filled with soldiers, not so much out
 “ of regard to his danger, as his dignity, to run thi-
 “ ther on a sudden to see plays : that in such times
 “ as these, though it was reputable for those to give
 “ plays, whose office required it, yet for his seeing
 “ them, as it was not necessary, so neither would it
 “ be thought decent——*.” He was heartily soli-
 citous, however, that they might meet with all ima-
 ginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to send
 him a particular account of what passed on each day
 from their first opening.

The success of them answered all their hopes,
 for they were received with an incredible applause
 by all ranks, though Antony’s brother Caius, as the
 next prætor in office, presided at them : one of the
 plays was *Tereus*, a tragedy of Accius ; which hav-
 ing many strokes in it on the characters and acts of
 tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. At-
 ticus performed his part to Cicero, and sent him a
 punctual account of what passed every day ; which

* In quibus unum alienum summa sua prudentia, id est illud, ut spectem ludos suos. Rescripsi scilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum sit. Dein ἀτακτάτως esse, me, qui Romam omnino post hæc arma non accesserim, neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim, quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est, cui necesse est : spectare mihi, ut non est necesse, sic ne honestum quidem est, Equidem illos celebrari, et esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio—Ad Att. 15. 26.

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he constantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood; in Nesis, a little isle on the Campanian shore, the seat of young Lucullus.—In his answer to Atticus, “Your letters,” says he, “were very acceptable to Brutus: I spent several hours with him, soon after I received them: he seemed to be delighted with the account of Tereus; and thought himself more obliged to the poet Accius, who made it, than to the prætor Antony, who presided at it. But the more joy you send us of this sort, the more indignation it gives me, to see the Roman people employ their hands in clapping plays, not in defending the republic. This perhaps may provoke our enemies to discover themselves before they intended it; yet if they be but mortified, I care not by what means*.” In a speech made afterwards to the senate, he urges this judgment of the city, as a proper lesson to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. “O happy Brutus,” says he, “who, when driven from Rome by force of arms, resided still in the hearts and bowels of his citizens, who made themselves amends for the ab-

* Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neseide, cum paullo ante tuas litteras acceperissem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora sunt, eo plus stomachi & molestiæ est, populum Romanum manus suas, non in defendenda Repub. sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur, istorum animi incendi etiam ad repræsentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

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“ sence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauses and acclamations *.”

But there was one thing, which through the inadvertency of Brutus’s managers, or the contrivance of the prætor Antony, gave Brutus some uneasiness; that, in the edict for proclaiming his shews, the month, instead of Quintilis, was stiled July, by its new name, lately given to it in honour of Cæsar: for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that Brutus, by edict, should acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honour of tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and, since it could not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shews; and gave immediate orders, that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis †.

While Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with letters just received from young S. Pompey, his

* Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hærebant! nisi forte Accio tum plaud!—& non Bruto putabatis, &c. Phil. I. 15.

† Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis: mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ postridie ludos Apollinæres futura est, proscriberent, III Id. Quintil.—Ad Att. 16. 4.

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son-in-law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the consuls, on which he desired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; and, instead of the consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other magistrates, with the senate and people of Rome, lest the consuls should suppress them, as belonging only to themselves. These letters brought in substance, “that Pompey was now
“master of seven legions; that as he had just storm-
“ed a town called Borea, he received the news of
“Cæsar’s death; which caused a wonderful joy, and
“change of affairs through the province of Spain,
“and a concourse of people to him from all parts.
“the sum of his demands was, that all who had the
“command of armies should dismiss them; but to
“Libo he signified, that unless his father’s estate and
“house at Rome, which Antony now possessed, were
“restored to him, he would agree to nothing*.”

This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus †: who having the the province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from Rome, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and

* Ibid. † Philip 5. 13, 14, &c. It. Phil 13. 4, 5, &c.

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honourable terms to Pompey, and “that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he should be restored to all his estates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval power of Rome, in the same manner as his father had it before him : all which was proposed and recommended to the senate by Antony himself*.” Where, to preserve a due respect to Cæsar’s acts, by which Pompey’s estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, that the same sum, for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again : This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his jewels, plate, and furniture ; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose †. On these terms, ratified by the authority of the senate, Pompey actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony ; for, while it carried a shew of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their

* App. p. 528. Dio. l. 45. 275.

† *Salvis enim actis Cæsaris, quæ concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet—decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantum ex bonis patriis in prædæ dissipatione inimicus victor redigisset—nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum, amittet æquo animo, quæ ille belluo dissipavit—atque illud septies milles, quod adolescenti, patres conscripti, spondidistis, ita describetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompæi filius in patrimonio suo collocatus.* Philip 13. 5.

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arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence, and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the empire.

There happened an incident at this time of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their nephew Quintus. He had long ago deserted his father and uncles, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money: on Cæsar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, his right hand *; or the minister of all his projects in the city; but upon some late disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's designs; and signifying to his father, that Antony would have engaged him to seize some strong post in the city, and declare him dictator, and, upon his refusal, was become his enemy †. The father, overjoyed at this change, carried his son to Cicero, to persuade him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession also with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleness,

* Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

† Quintus pater exultat lætitia. Scripsit enim filius, se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum dictatorum efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderit; ex eo sibi illum hostem. Ad Att. 15. 21.

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and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him ; taking the whole for a contrivance only to draw money from them ; yet, in compliance with their request, he wrote what they desired to Atticus ; but sent him another letter at the same time with his real thoughts on the matter.

“ Our nephew Quintus,” says he, “ promises to be “ a very Cato. Both his father and he have been “ pressing me, that I would undertake for him to “ you ; yet so, that you should not believe him, till “ you yourself had seen the effects of it. I shall give “ him therefore such a letter to you as he would “ have ; but let it not move you, for I have written “ this, lest you should imagine that I am moved my- “ self. The gods grant that he may perform what “ he promises ; for it will be a common joy to us all. “ I will say nothing more of it at present,” &c. *.

But young Quintus got the better at last of all Cicero's suspicions ; and, after spending several days with him, convinced him, by his whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest : so that he not only recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but presented him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his service to him in person : “ If he had not

* Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem et pater et filius, ut tibi sponderem : sed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitrato dabo. Eæ ne te moverint ; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

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“wholly persuaded me,” says he, “that what I am saying of him is certainly true, I should not have done what I am going to tell you: for I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who was so well satisfied with him, that he gave him full credit, without suffering me to be his sponsor: in commending him, he mentioned you in the kindest manner, and at parting, embraced and kissed him. Wherefore, though there is reason rather to congratulate, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that whatever he may have done hitherto, through the weakness of age, with more levity than became him, you would believe it all to be now over,” &c. *.

Quintus kept his word with them; and, to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the temple of Opis †. But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their being proscribed and murdered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

* Quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset, judicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus sum. Duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum: sic ei probatum est, quod ad te scribo, ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit. Eumque laudans amicissime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, osculatusque dimiserit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

† Quintus scribit, se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ibid. 14.

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Cicero was now ready for his voyage ; and had provided three little yachts or galleys to transport himself and his attendants : but as there was a report of legions arriving daily from abroad, and of pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast *. He gave several hints of this design to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected ; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of its being censured, as a desertion of his country : but Atticus kept up his spirits, by assuring him constantly in his letters, that all people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept his word, of returning by the first of the new year †.

He sailed slowly along the coast towards Rhegium, going ashore every night to lodge with some friend

* *Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quasdam suspensiones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam.—Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. Ib. 16. 4.*

† *Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοπλοία, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus es.—(ib. 5.) Consilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero ; expectabamque, si quid ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. (ib. 2.) it. Ep. fam. xi. 29.) Scribis enim in cælum ferri perfectionem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. (ib. 6.) Ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.*

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or client : he spent one day at Velia, the native place of Trebatius ; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the nineteenth of July ; advising him by no means to sell that family-estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people who entirely loved him *. At this place he began his *Treatise of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any question : it was an abstract of Aristotle's *Piece* on the same subject ; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan library, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of Velia ; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to Rhegium ; whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a letter dated the twenty-seventh. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice : in which however he promises to assist him, if he lived to return, and found the republic subsisting †.

In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his treatise *On the Academic Philosophy*, he observed

* Ep. fam. 7. 20.

† Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, instituti Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7. 19.

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the preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book *On Glory*, which he had lately sent to Atticus. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish ; so that by mistake he had used this preface twice, without remembering it : he composed a new one therefore on ship-board, for the piece on *glory* ; and sent it to Atticus, with orders to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface *. So wonderful was his industry and love

† Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo proœmium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen proœmiorum : ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod *συγγράμμα* institui. Itaque jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto proœmio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statim novum proœmium exaravi ; tibi misi.—Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A collection of *Prefaces*, prepared before hand, and calculated indifferently for any treatise, will be thought perhaps a strange and fantastical way of composing : but though they had no necessary connection with the subject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived severally to serve the different ends, which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus in some he takes occasion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends, to whom they were addressed ; in others, to enter into a general defence of philosophy, in answer to those who censured him for spending so much time upon it : in some, he represents the miserable state of the times, and subversion of the republic, in a manner proper to alarm his citizens, and rouse them to assert their ancient liberty : in others, he contrives to give a beautiful description of some of his *villas or gardens*, where the scene of the dialogue was laid : all which the reader will find very agreeably executed in the prefaces of his philosophical pieces ; which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the

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of letters, that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he always hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving Italy in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies.

From Rhegium, or rather Leucopetra, a promontory close by it, he passed over to Syracuse on the first of August : where he staid but one night, though in a city particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection : but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at Rome, of having any views abroad, which concerned the public * : he set sail therefore again the next morning towards Greece ; but was driven back by contrary winds to Leucopetra ; and, after a second attempt with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the villa of his friend Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind †.

Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments ; some of them fresh from Rome, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification ;

the sake of introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp.—Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Legib. 2. 1.

* Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas—quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, essem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

|| Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent ; ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem ; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum—(ibid.) ibi cum ventum expectarem : erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, & libenter.—Ad Att. 16. 7.

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“ That Antony seemed disposed to listen to reason,
 “ to desist from his pretensions to Gaul ; submit to
 “ the authority of the senate ; and make up matters
 “ with Brutus and Cassius ; who had written circu-
 “ lar letters to all the principal senators, to beg their
 “ attendance in the senate on the first of September ;
 “ and that Cicero’s absence was particularly regret-
 “ ed, and even blamed at such a crisis *.” This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage ; in which he was confirmed likewise by letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome.

He returned therefore by the same course which he had before taken, and came back to Velia on the seventeenth of August : Brutus lay within three miles of it with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to salute him : “ he declared
 “ himself exceedingly pleased with Cicero’s return ;
 “ owned, that he had never approved, though he had
 “ not dissuaded the voyage ; thinking it indecent to
 “ give advice to a man of his experience ; but now
 “ told him plainly, that he had escaped two great im-
 “ putations on his character ; the one, of too hasty

† Rhagini quidam, illustres homines eo venerunt, Roma sane recentēs—hæc afferebant, Edictum Bruti & Cassii ; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Cassio litteras missas ad Consulares & Prætorios ; ut adessent, rogare. Summam spem nuntiabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari, &c.—Ad Aut ibid.

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“ a despair and desertion of the common cause ; the
 “ other, of the vanity of going to see the Olympic
 “ games. This last, as Cicero says, would have been
 “ shameful for him, in any state of the republic, but
 “ in the present, unpardonable ; and professes him-
 “ self therefore greatly obliged to the winds for pre-
 “ serving him from such an infamy, and, like good
 “ citizens, blowing him back to the service of his
 “ country *.”

Brutus informed him likewise of what had passed in the senate, on the first of August ; and how Piso had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which no body had the courage to second him : he produced also Antony's edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much : but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it, as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome ; where there was not one senator who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the senate again the next day †.

This was the last conference that he ever had with Brutus ; who together with Cassius left Italy

* Nam. xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra Veliam millia passuum III. pedibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea lætatus est ? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 25. it. ad Brut. 15.

† Vid. Ad Att. ibid. Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

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soon after it : they were both to succeed of course, as all prætors did, at the expiration of their office, to the government of some province, which was assigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the senate. Cæsar had intended Macedonia for the one, and Syria for the other ; but as these were two of the most important commands of the empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so Antony contrived to get two other provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius ; and, by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himself, and his colleague Dolabella ; in consequence of which, he sent his brother Caius in all haste to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in a condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid ; taking it for granted, that this was the project which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the east, by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honoured in Greece, for his eminent virtue and love of philosophy : they resolved therefore to slight the petty provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that Cæsar had promised them ; and with that view had provided the fleets above mentioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action ; Brutus, to Macedonia, Cassius, to Syria ;

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where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success *.

Cicero in the mean while pursued his journey towards Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the city, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as he passed along to his house †. The senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the senate, to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till, by the interposition of the assembly, he was dissuaded from using any violence ‡.

The business of the day was, to decree some new and extraordinary honours to the memory of Cæsar, with a religious supplication to him, as to a divinity: Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own

* Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

† Plutar. in Cicer.

‡ Cumque de via languerem, mihi que displicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Phil. 1. 5.

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party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

The senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero*; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were called afterwards *his Philippics*—he opens it with a particular account of his late voyage, and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: “At Velia,” says he, “I saw Brutus: with what grief I saw him I need not tell you: I could not but think it scandalous for me, to return to a city from which he was forced to retire, and to find myself safe in any place, where he could not be so: yet Brutus was not half so much moved with it as I, but, supported by the consciousness of his noble act, shewed not the least concern for his own case, while he expressed the greatest for yours.”—He then declares, “that he came to second Piso; and, in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day’s speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country†. Before he enters into the state of the republic, he takes occasion to complain of the unprecedented violence of Antony’s treatment of him the day before, who would not have been better pleased with

* Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Phil. 5. 7.

† Philip 1. 4.

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“ him, had he been present, for he should never have
“ consented to pollute the republic with so detest-
“ able a religion, and blend the honours of the gods
“ with those of a dead man : he prays the gods to
“ forgive both the senate and the people for their
“ forced consent to it :—that he would never have
“ decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus him-
“ self, who first delivered Rome from regal tyranny,
“ and, at the distance of five centuries, had propa-
“ gated a race from the same stock, to do their coun-
“ try the same service †. He returns thanks to Piso,
“ for what he had said in that place the month be-
“ fore ; wishes, that he had been present to second
“ him ; and reproves the other consulars for betray-
“ ing their dignity, by deserting him.—As to the
“ public affairs, he dwells chiefly on Antony’s abuse
“ of their decree, to confirm Cæsar’s acts ; declares
“ himself still for the confirmation of them, not that
“ he liked them, but for the sake of peace ; yet of
“ the genuine acts only, such as Cæsar himself had
“ completed ; not the imperfect notes and memo-
“ randums of his pocket books ; not every scrap of
“ his writing ; or what he had not even written, but
“ spoken only, and that, without a voucher—he
“ charges Antony with a strange inconsistency, in
“ pretending such a zeal for Cæsar’s acts, yet vio-
“ lating the most solemn and authentic of them,
“ his laws ; of which he gives several examples :
“ thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the per-

† Ibid 5. 6.

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“formance of all Cæsar’s promises, yet annul so
“freely what ought to be held the most sacred and
“inviolable of any thing that he had done :” He ad-
dresses himself pathetically to both the consuls, tho’
Dolabella only was present ; tells them, “that they
“had no reason to resent his speaking so freely on
“the behalf of the republic : that he had no per-
“sonal reflections ; had not touched their characters,
“their lives, and manners : that if he offended in
“that way, he desired no quarter § : but if, accor-
“ding to his custom, he delivered himself with all
“freedom on public affairs, he begged, in the first
“place, that they would not be angry ; in the next,
“that if they were, they would express their anger,
“as became citizens, by civil, not military methods :
“that he had been admonished indeed, not to expect,
“that the same liberty would be allowed to him, the
“enemy of Cæsar, which had been indulged to Piso,
“his father-in-law ; that Antony would resent what-
“ever was said against his will, though free from
“personal injury : if so, he must bear it, as well as
“he could.—Then after touching on their plundering
“the temple of Opis of those sums which might
“have been of great service to the state, he observes,
“that whatever the vulgar might think, money was
“not the thing which they aimed at ; that their
“souls were too noble for that, and had greater de-
“signs in view || : but they quite mistook the road
“to glory, if they thought it to consist in a single

§ Ibid. 7. 11.

|| Ibid. 12.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ man’s having more power than a whole people :—
“ That to be dear to our citizens, to deserve well of
“ our country, to be praised, respected, beloved, was
“ truly glorious ; to be feared and hated, always invi-
“ dious, detestable, weak, and tottering:—That Cæ-
“ sar’s fate was a warning to them, how much better
“ it was to be loved than to be feared : that no man
“ could live happy, who held life on such terms,
“ that it might be taken from him, not only with
“ impunity, but with praise *. He puts them in
“ mind of the many public demonstrations of the
“ people’s disaffection to them, and their constant
“ applauses and acclamations to those who opposed
“ them ; to which he begs them to attend with more
“ care, in order to learn the way how to be truly
“ great and glorious.—He concludes, by declaring,
“ that he had now reaped the full fruit of his return,
“ by giving this public testimony of his constant ad-
“ herence to the interests of his country : that he
“ would use the same liberty of speech, if he found
“ that he could do it with safety ; if not, would re-
“ serve himself, as well as he could, to better times,
“ not so much out of regard to himself, as to the re-
“ public.”

In speaking afterwards of this day’s debate, he says, “ that whilst the rest of the senate behaved
“ like slaves, he alone shewed himself to be free ;
“ and though he spoke indeed with less freedom
“ than it had been his custom to do, yet it was with

* Ibid. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ more than the dangers with which he was threatened seemed to allow †.” Antony was greatly enraged at this speech, and summoned another meeting of the senate for the nineteenth, where he again required Cicero’s attendance, being resolved to answer him in person, and justify his own conduct: for which end he employed himself during the interval in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his villa near Tibur. The senate met on the appointed day, in the temple of concord, whither Antony came with a strong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thither: but though Cicero himself was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him at home, being apprehensive of some design intended against his life ‡.

Antony’s speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, says, “ that he seemed once more rather to spew than to “ speak §.” He produced Cicero’s letter to him,

* Locutus sum de repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7.

† In summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

‡ Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium fecisset a me. Phil. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret insidiis. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

§ Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. lb. 2.

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about the restoration of S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only for his friend, but a good citizen ; as if the letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the republic ||. But the chief thing with which he urged him, was, his being not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every step which the conspirators had since taken : by this he hoped to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues to the temple, and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero, in his account of it to Cassius, says, “ that he should not “ scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have “ a share in the glory : but that, if he had really “ been concerned in it, they should never have left “ the work half finished *.”

He had resided all this while in Rome, or the neighbourhood ; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary for his security, to remove to a greater distance, to some of his villas near Naples. Here he composed his second Philippic, by way of reply to Antony ; not delivered in the senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be publish-

|| Atque etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

* Nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Cæsaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2. vid. 3. 4.

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ed till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence—it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews that, in the decline of life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that, in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of outliving a second time the liberty of his country.

He sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave Italy, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to Antony.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to ANTONY, Consul.

“ IF you are in good health, it is a pleasure to us.
 “ We have read your letter, exactly of a piece with

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“ your edict, abusive, threatening, wholly unworthy
“ to be sent from you to us. For our part, Antony,
“ we have never done you any injury ; nor imagin-
“ ed that you would think it strange, that prætors
“ and men of our rank should require any thing by
“ edict of a consul : but if you are angry that we
“ have presumed to do it, give us leave to be con-
“ cerned, that you would not indulge that privilege
“ at least to Brutus and Cassius : for as to our rais-
“ ing troops, exacting contributions, soliciting armies,
“ sending expresses beyond sea ; since you deny that
“ you ever complained of it, we believe you, and
“ take it as a proof of your good intention : we do
“ not indeed own any such practices ; yet think it
“ strange, when you objected nothing of that kind,
“ that you could not contain yourself from reproach-
“ ing us with the death of Cæsar. Consider with
“ yourself, whether it is to be endured, that, for the
“ sake of the public quiet and liberty, prætors can-
“ not depart from their rights by edict, but the con-
“ sul must presently threaten them with arms. Do
“ not think to frighten us with such threats : it is
“ not agreeable to our character to be moved by
“ any danger : nor must Antony pretend to com-
“ mand those by whose means he now lives free.
“ If there were other reasons to dispose us to raise a
“ civil war, your letter would have no effect to hin-
“ der it : for threats can have no influence on those
“ who are free. But you know very well, that it is
“ not possible for us to be driven to any thing against

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“ our will ; and for that reason perhaps you threaten,
“ that, whatever we do, it may seem to be the effect
“ of fear. These then are our sentiments : we wish
“ to see you live with honour and splendour in a free
“ republic ; have no desire to quarrel with you ; yet
“ value our liberty more than your friendship. It
“ is your business to consider again and again, what
“ you attempt, and what you can maintain ; and to
“ reflect, not how long Cæsar lived, but how short a
“ time he reigned : we pray the gods, that your
“ councils may be salutary, both to the republic and
“ to yourself ; if not, wish at least, that they may
“ hurt you as little as may consist with the safety
“ and dignity of the republic *.”

Octavius perceived by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the city against a consul, armed with supreme power both civil and military ; and was so far provoked by the ill usage which he had received, that, in order to obtain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by Antony to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle : but all men of sense, as Cicero says, both be-

* Ep. fam. xi. 3.

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lieved and applauded it ; and the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact †.

They were both of them equally suspected by the senate ; but Antony more immediately dreaded on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had served with through all the late wars, and on several occasions commanded. Here his chief strength lay ; and, to ingratiate himself the more with them, he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the conspirators ; threatening them in his edicts, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar ; to whom he erected a statue in the rostra, and inscribed it, *to the most worthy parent of his country*. Cicero, speaking of this in a letter to Cassius, says, “ Your friend Antony grows every day
“ more furious, as you see from the inscription of his
“ statue ; by which he makes you not only murder-
“ ers, but parricides. But why do I say you, and
“ not rather us ? for the madman affirms me to be
“ the author of your noble act. I wish that I had
“ been, for, if I had, he would not have been so
“ troublesome to us at this time ‡.”

† De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. (Ep. fam. 12. 23.) In-sidiis M. Antonii consulis latus petierat. (Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.)

Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plutar. in Anton.

‡ Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in statua, quam posuit in rostris, inscripsit, parenti optime merito. Ut non modo siccarii, sed jam etiam parricidæ judicemini. Quil dico judice-

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Octavius was not less active in soliciting his uncle's soldiers, sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his service ; and, by outbidding Antony in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater success than was expected, so as to draw together, in a short time, a firm and regular army of veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the republican chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorised by the senate ; and, by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself : he now therefore was continually pressing Cicero, by letters and friends, to come to Rome, and support him with his authority against their common enemy, Antony ; promising to govern himself in every step by his advice.

But Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs : he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony ; and, above all, that he had no good disposition towards the conspirators : he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather, that, if ever he got the upper hand, his uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than

mini ? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset, molestus non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3.

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by Antony himself*. These considerations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the republic made it absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, without making it an express condition, that Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and his accomplices: where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him only with a power sufficient to oppress Antony, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the republic.

This is evident from many of his epistles to Atticus: “I had a letter,” says he, “from Octavianus” “on the first of November: his designs are great:” “he has drawn over all the veterans of Casilinum” “and Calatia: and no wonder, he gives sixteen” “pounds a man. He proposes to make the tour of” “the other colonies: his view plainly is, to have the” “command of the war against Antony; so that we” “shall be in arms in a few days. But which of them” “shall we follow?—Consider his name, his age:” “he begs to have a private conference with me at” “Capua, or near it: ’tis childish to imagine that it” “could be private: I gave him to understand, that” “it was neither necessary nor practicable. He sent” “to me one Cæcina of Volaterræ, who brought word,” “that Antony was coming towards the city with

* Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta tyranni comprobaturum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—sed in isto Juvene quanquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Ad Att. 16. 14.

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“ the legion of the Alaudæ * : that he raised contri-
“ butions from all the great towns, and marched
“ with colours displayed : he asked my advice, whe-
“ ther he should advance before him to Rome, with
“ three thousand veterans, or keep the post of Ca-
“ pua, and oppose his progress there, or go to the
“ three Macedonian legions, who were marching a-
“ long the upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his
“ interest—they would not take Antony’s money,
“ as this Cæcina says, but even affronted and left
“ him while he was speaking to them. In short,
“ he offers himself for our leader, and thinks that
“ we ought to support him. I advise him to march
“ to Rome : for he seems likely to have the meaner
“ people on his side ; and, if he makes good what
“ he promises, the better sort too. O Brutus, where
“ art thou ? What an opportunity dost thou lose ?
“ I did not indeed foresee this : yet thought that
“ something like it would happen. Give me your
“ advice : shall I come away to Rome ; stay where
“ I am ; or retire to Arpinum ? where I shall be the

* This legion of the Alaudæ was first raised by J. Cæsar, and composed of the natives of Gaul, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, to which he gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallic name, Alaudæ ; which signified a kind of lark, or little bird with a tuft or crest rising upon its head ; in imitation of which, this legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet ; from which origin the word was adopted into the Latin tongue. Antony, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a judiciary law, by which he erected a third class of judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of the senators and knights ; for which Cicero often reproaches him as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the republic—Phil. i. 8.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“safest. I had rather be at Rome, lest, if any thing should be done, I should be wanted: resolve therefore for me: I never was in greater perplexity †.”

Again: “I had two letters the same day from Octavius: he presses me to come immediately to Rome; is resolved, he says, to do nothing without the senate—I tell him, that there can be no senate till the first of January, which I take to be true: he adds also, nor without my advice. In a word, he urges; I hang back: I cannot trust his age; do not know his real intentions; will do nothing without Pansa; am afraid that Antony may prove too strong for him; and unwilling to stir from the sea; yet would not have any thing vigorous done without me. Varro does not like the conduct of the boy; but I do. He has firm troops, and may join with D. Brutus: what he does, he does openly; musters his soldiers at Capua; pays them; we shall have a war I see instantly—‡.”

Again: “I have letters every day from Octavianus; to undertake his affairs; to come to him at Capua; to save the state a second time: he resolves to come directly to Rome.

“Urg’d to the fight, ’tis shameful to refuse,
“Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to chuse.—
Hom. Il. 4.

“He has hitherto acted, and acts still with vigour;
“and will come to Rome with a great force. Yet

† Ad Att. 16. 8.

G 4

‡ Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.---M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ he is but a boy: he thinks the senate may be called immediately: but who will come? or, if they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, will declare against Antony? he will be a good guard to us on the first of January: or it may come perhaps to blows before. The great towns favour the boy strangely.—They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: could you ever have thought it *?” There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and, besides the *second Philippic*, already mentioned, now finished his *Book of Offices, or the Duties of Man*, for the use of his son †. A work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen of what *mere reason* could do towards guiding man through life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his *Stoical Paradoxes*, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

Antony left Rome about the end of September, in order to meet and engage to his service four legions

* Ad Att. 11.

† Ibid.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss—M. Antonius, P. Cornelius Dolabella.

from Macedonia, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards Parthia, and were now by his orders returning to Italy. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the city; but on his arrival at Brundisium on the eighth of October, three of the legions, to his great surprise, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. This affront so enraged him, that calling together all the centurions, whom he suspected of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men: after which he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian road, at the head of the single legion which submitted to him; whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side*.

He returned full of rage both against Octavius and the republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his consulship, in wresting the provinces and military commands out of the

* Ad. d. vii. Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis 1111, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Phil. 2. 2.

Cum ejus promissis legiones fortissimæ reclamassent, domum ad se venire jussit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. sentire cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos, uxorisque sue, quam secum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Phil. 5. 8.

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hands of his enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which “ he gave Octavius “ the name of Spartacus, reproached him with the “ ignobleness of his birth ; charged Cicero with be- “ ing the author of all his councils ; abused young “ Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to “ kill both his father and uncle ; forbade three of the “ tribunes, on pain of death, to appear in the senate, “ Q. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, Carfule- “ nus and Canutius †.” In this humour he summoned the senate on the twenty-fourth of October, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves ; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to the twenty-eighth : but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæsar a public enemy* || ; he happened to receive the news, that two of the legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the Martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome §. This shocked him so much,

† Primum in Cæsarem ut maledicta congressit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæsaris filio—(Phil. 3. 6.) quem in edictis Spartacum appellat. (ib. 8.) Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—ausus est scribere, hunc de Patris & Patruī parricidio cogitasse. (ib. 7.) quid autem attinuerit, Q. Cassio—mortem denunciare si in Senatum venisset. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere : Tib. Canutium—non templo solum, sed aditu prohibere Capitoliū—ib. 9.

|| Cum Senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret—Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

§ Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vi-

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that, instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over what no body opposed, the decree of a supplication to Lepidus; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the consul for that of the general, and left the city with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the senate *.

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quit-
ted his books and the country, and set out towards Rome: he seemed to be called by the voice of the republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a consul, and scarce a single prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the consulship.

Before his leaving the country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs

dit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio consedit Albæ, &c. Phil. 3. 3.

* Fugere festinans S. C. de supplicatione per discessionem fecit—præclara tam fuit senatus eo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio—L. Lentulus & P. Naso—nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse judicarunt. Phil. 3. 9. x.

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of Octavius, and the protection of his troops : but his answer was, “ that he could not consent to it, unless “ he were first assured that Octavius would not only “ be no enemy, but even a friend to Brutus : that he “ could be of no service to Octavius till the first of “ January, and there would be an opportunity before “ that time of trying Octavius’s disposition in the case “ of Casca, who had been named by Cæsar to the “ tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the tenth of “ December : for if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof of his “ good intentions ||.” Oppius undertook for all this on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office.

The new tribunes in the mean time, in the absence of the superior magistrates, called a meeting of the senate on the nineteenth : Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new consuls ; but happening to receive the day before, the edict of D. Brutus, by which he prohibited Antony the entrance of his province, and declared, that he would defend it against him by force,

|| Sed ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum : de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore ; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus ? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspicimus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est—Ad Att. 16. 15.

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and preserve it in its duty to the senate, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favour : he went therefore to the senate very early, which being observed by the other senators, presently drew together a full house, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs *.

He saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of Italy, on the success of which depended the fate of Rome : that Gaul would certainly be lost, and with it probably the republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony : that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius and his troops: and though the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and superior authority of the two consuls, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

The senate being assembled, the tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting, was to

* Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulum designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire : tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Romæ meritis sileretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. fam. xi. 6.

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provide a guard for the security of the new consuls, and the protection of the senate, in the freedom of their debates ; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, “ and “ represented to them the danger of their present “ condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute “ councils against an enemy who lost no time in at- “ tempting their ruin. That they had been ruined “ indeed before, had it not been for the courage and “ virtue of young Cæsar, who, contrary to all expec- “ tation, and without being even desired to do, what “ no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his “ private authority and expence, raised a strong ar- “ my of veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony ; “ that if Antony had succeeded at Brundisium, and “ prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would “ have filled the city at his return with blood and “ slaughter : that it was their part to authorise and “ confirm what Cæsar had done ; and to empower “ him to do more, by employing his troops in the far- “ ther service of the state ; and to make a special “ provision also for the two legions which had de- “ clared for him against Antony §. As to D. Brutus, “ who had promised by edict to preserve Gaul in the “ obedience of the senate, that he was a citizen, born “ for the good of the republic ; the imitator of his an- “ cestors ; nay, had even exceeded their merit ; for “ the first Brutus expelled a proud king ; he a fellow

§ Phil. 3. 1, 2, 3.

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“ subject far more proud and profligate : that Tar-
“ quin, at the same time of his expulsion, was actual-
“ ly making war for the people of Rome ; but An-
“ tony, on the contrary, had actually begun a war
“ against them. That it was necessary therefore to
“ confirm by public authority, what Brutus had done
“ by private, in preserving the province of Gaul, the
“ flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the empire—†.
“ Then, after largely inveighing against Antony’s
“ character, and enumerating particularly all his
“ cruelties and violences, he exhorts them in a pa-
“ thetic manner, to act with courage in defence of
“ the republic, or die bravely in the attempt : that
“ now was the time either to recover their liberty, or
“ to live for ever slaves : that if the fatal day was
“ come, and Rome was destined to perish, it would
“ be a shame for them, the governors of the world,
“ not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were
“ used to do, and die with dignity, rather than live
“ with disgrace. He puts them in mind of the ma-
“ ny advantages, which they had towards encourag-
“ ing their hopes and resolution ; the body of the
“ people alert and eager in the cause ; young Cæsar
“ in the guard of the city ; Brutus of Gaul ; two con-
“ suls of the greatest prudence, virtue, and concord be-
“ tween themselves ; who had been meditating no-
“ thing else for many months past, but the public
“ tranquillity : to all which he promises his own at-
“ tention and vigilance both day and night for their

† Ibid 4. 5.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Cōss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

“ safety *. On the whole, therefore, he gives his
“ vote and opinion, that the new consuls, C. Pansa
“ and A. Hirtius, should take care that the senate
“ may meet with security on the first of January: that
“ D. Brutus, emperor and consul-elect, had merited
“ greatly of the republic, by defending the authori-
“ ty and liberty of the senate and people of Rome :
“ that his army, the towns and colonies of his pro-
“ vince, should be publicly thanked and praised for
“ their fidelity to him : that it should be declared to
“ be of the last consequence to the republic, that D.
“ Brutus and L. Plancus (who commanded the far-
“ ther Gaul) emperor and consul elect, as well as all
“ others who had the command of provinces, should
“ keep them in their duty to the senate, till succes-
“ sors were appointed by the senate : and since, by
“ the pains, virtue and conduct of young Cæsar, and
“ the assistance of the veteran soldiers who followed
“ him, the republic had been delivered, and was still
“ defended from the greatest dangers : and since the
“ martial and fourth legions, under that excellent ci-
“ tizen and quæstor Egnatuleius, had voluntarily de-
“ clared for the authority of the senate, and the li-
“ berty of the people, that the senate should take
“ special care that due honours and thanks be paid
“ to them for their eminent services : and that the
“ new consuls, on their entrance into office, should
“ make it their first business to see all this executed
“ in proper form: to all which the House unanimous-

* Ibid 14, &c.

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“ly agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.”

From the senate he passed directly to the Forum, and in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed : he begins, “by signifying his joy to see so great a concourse about him, greater than he had ever remembered, a sure omen of their good inclinations, and an encouragement both to his endeavours and his hopes of recovering the republic. Then he repeats with some variation what he had delivered in the senate, of the praises of Cæsar and Brutus, and the wicked designs of Antony : that the race of the Brutus’s was given to them by the special providence of the gods, for the perpetual defenders and deliverers of the republic* : that by what the senate had decreed, they had in fact, though not in express words, declared Antony a public enemy : that they must consider him therefore as such, and no longer as consul : that they had to deal with an enemy, with whom no terms of peace could be made : who thirsted not so much after their liberty, as their blood : to whom no sport was so agreeable, as to see citizens butchered before his eyes——That the gods, however, by portents and prodigies seemed to foretel his speedy downfall since such a consent and union of all ranks against him could never have been effected, but by a divine influence,” &c. ‡.

These speeches, which stand the third and fourth

* Phil. 4. 3.

‡ Ibid. 4. &c.

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in the order of his *Philippics*, were extremely well received both by the senate and people: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, “if that day had put an end to my life, I
“had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all
“with one mind and voice cried out, that I had twice
“saved the republic ||.” As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published probably about this time his second *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to Rome, that Antony was actually besieging Modena, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest town of his province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with the advice of Cicero, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of Rome at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions

* Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitæ finem mihi allatarus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente ac voce iterum a me conservatam esse Remp. conclamastis. Phil. 6. 1.

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of distressing him ; as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigour, till the consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

SECTION X.

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ON the opening of the year, the city was in great expectation, to see what measures their new consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer under Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of governing from him, and seem to have been brought entirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the republic on the foundation of an amnesty. But their great obligations to Cæsar and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of times would allow; and, before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler methods of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the senate, on the present state of the republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause †: and when they had

† Ut oratio Consulum animum meum erexit, spemque attulit
non

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done, they called up Q. Fusius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been consul four years before by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which by custom was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by declaring Antony a public enemy, and without loss of time acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the consuls, who called therefore upon Calenus to speak first; that as he was a fast friend to Antony, and sure to be on the moderate side, he might instil some sentiments of that sort into the senate before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion therefore was, "that before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the senate:" Piso and several others were of the same mind, alleging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

But Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not only as "vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dishonourable to treat with any one, who was in arms against his country, until he laid them down and sued for peace; in which case no man would be more moderate or e-

non modo salutis conservandæ, verum etiam dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ. Phil. 5. 1.

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“ quitable than himself : that they had in effect pro-
 “ claimed him an enemy already, and had nothing
 “ left but to confirm it by a decree, when he was be-
 “ sieging one of the great towns of Italy, a colony of
 “ Rome, and in it their consul elect and general Bru-
 “ tus : he observed from what motives those other
 “ opinions proceeded ; from particular friendships, re-
 “ lations, private obligations ; but that a regard to
 “ their country was superior to them all : that the
 “ real point before them was, whether Antony should
 “ be suffered to oppress the republic ; to mark out
 “ whom he pleased to destruction ; to plunder the
 “ city, and enslave the citizens—*. That this was his
 “ sole view, he shewed from a long detail, not only of
 “ his acts but of his express declarations :—for he said
 “ in the temple of Castor, in the hearing of the peo-
 “ ple, that whenever it came to blows, no man should
 “ remain alive, who did not conquer :—and in another
 “ speech ; that when he was out of his consulship, he
 “ would keep an army still about the city, and en-
 “ ter it whenever he thought fit : that in a letter,
 “ which Cicero himself had seen, to one of his friends,
 “ he bade him to mark out for himself what estate he
 “ would have, and whatever it was, he should cer-
 “ tainly have it † : that to talk of sending embassa-
 “ dors to such an one, was to betray their ignorance
 “ of the constitution of the republic, the majesty of
 “ the Roman people, and the discipline of their an-
 “ cestors—‡ that whatever was the purpose of their

* Phil. 5. 1, 2, 3.

† Ibid. 8, 12.

‡ Ibid. 9.

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“ message, it would signify nothing: if to beg him to
“ be quiet, he would despise it; if to command him, he
“ would not obey it:—that without any possible good,
“ it would be a certain damage; would necessarily
“ create delay, and obstruction to the operations of
“ the war: check the zeal of the army; damp the
“ spirits of the people; whom they now saw so brisk
“ and eager in the cause:—that the greatest revolu-
“ tions of affairs were effected often by trifling inci-
“ dents; and above all in civil wars, which were
“ generally governed by popular rumour: that how
“ vigorous soever their instructions were to the em-
“ bassadors, that they would be little regarded: the
“ very name of an embassy implied a diffidence and
“ fear, which was sufficient to cool the ardour of
“ friends ||: they might order him to retire from Mo-
“ dena; to quit the province of Gaul; but this was
“ not to be obtained by words, but extorted by arms:
“ —that while the ambassadors were going and com-
“ ing, people would be in doubt and suspense about
“ the success of their negotiation, and, under the ex-
“ pectation of a doubtful war, what progresses could
“ they hope to make in their levies?—that his opi-
“ nion therefore was, to make no farther mention of
“ an embassy; but to enter instantly into action:
“ that there should be a cessation of all civil business;
“ public tumult proclaimed; the shops shut up; and
“ that, instead of their usual gown, they should all put
“ on the sagum, or habit of war: and that levies of

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“ soldiers should be made in Rome, and through Italy,
“ without any exception of privilege or dismissal from
“ service:—that the very fame of this vigour would
“ restrain the madness of Antony, and let the world
“ see, that the case was not, as he pretended, a strug-
“ gle only of contending parties, but a real war a-
“ gainst the commonwealth:—that the whole repub-
“ lic should be committed to the consuls, to take
“ care that it received no detriment—that pardon
“ should be offered to those of Antony’s army, who
“ should return to their duty before the first of Fe-
“ bruary—that if they did not come to this reso-
“ lution now, they would be forced to do it after-
“ wards, when it would be too late perhaps, or less
“ effectual §.”

This was the sum of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceeded to the other subject of their debate; the honours which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting; and began with D. Brutus, as consul-elect; in favour of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect——“ Whereas D.
“ Brutus, emperor and consul-elect, now holds the
“ province of Gaul in the power of the senate and
“ people of Rome; and, by the chearful assistance
“ of the towns and colonies of his province, has drawn
“ together a great army in a short time; that he has
“ done all this rightly and regularly, and for the ser-
“ vice of the state: and that it is the sense therefore

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“ of the senate and people, that the republic has been
“ relieved in a most difficult conjuncture, by the
“ pains, counsel, and virtue of D. Brutus, emperor,
“ consul-elect, and by the incredible zeal and con-
“ currence of the province of Gaul.” He moved also
for an extraordinary honour to M. Lepidus, who had
no pretension to it indeed from past services, but, be-
ing now at the head of the best army in the empire,
was in condition to do the most good or ill to them
of any man. This was the ground of the compli-
ment ; for his faith being suspected, and his union
with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped, by this testimo-
ny of their confidence, to confirm him in the inter-
ests of the senate : but he seems to be hard put to
it for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon :
he takes notice, “ that Lepidus was always moderate
“ in power, and a friend to liberty : that he gave a
“ signal proof of it, when Antony offered the diadem
“ to Cæsar ; for, by turning away his face, he public-
“ ly testified his aversion to slavery, and that his com-
“ pliance with the times was through necessity, not
“ choice:—that since Cæsar’s death he had practis-
“ ed the same moderation ; and when a bloody war
“ was revived in Spain, chose to put an end to it by
“ the methods of prudence and humanity, rather than
“ by arms and the sword, and consented to the re-
“ storation of S. Pompey*.” For which reason he
proposed the following decree——“ Whereas the re-
“ public has often been well and happily administer-

* Ibid. 14.

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“ ed by M. Lepidus, the chief priest ; and the peo-
 “ ple of Rome have always found him to be an ene-
 “ my to kingly government ; and whereas, by his en-
 “ deavours, virtue, wisdom, and his singular clemen-
 “ cy and mildness, a most dreadful civil war is ex-
 “ tinguished ; and S. Pompey the Great, the son of
 “ Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the senate,
 “ has quitted his arms, and is restored to the city ;
 “ that the senate and people, out of regard to the
 “ many and signal services of M. Lepidus, emperor,
 “ and chief priest, place great hopes of their peace,
 “ concord, liberty, in his virtue, authority, and felicity ;
 “ from a grateful sense of his merits, decree, that a
 “ gilt equestrian statue shall be erected to him by
 “ their order in the Rostra, or any other part of the
 “ Forum, which he shall chuse——*.” He comes
 next to young Cæsar ; and, after enlarging on his
 praises, proposes, “ that they should grant him a pro-
 “ per commission and command over his troops, with-
 “ out which he could be of no use to them ; and
 “ that he should have the rank and all the rights of
 “ a proprætor ; not only for the sake of his dignity,
 “ but the necessary management of their affairs, and
 “ the administration of the war.”——And then offers
 the form of a decree :——“ Whereas C. Cæsar, the
 “ son of Caius, priest, proprætor, has, in the utmost
 “ distress of the republic, excited and enlisted vete-
 “ ran troops to defend the liberty of the Roman peo-
 “ ple ; and whereas the Martial and fourth legions,

* Ibid. 15.

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“ under the leading and authority of C. Cæsar, have
“ defended, and now defend the republic, and the
“ liberty of the Roman people ; and whereas C. Cæ-
“ sar is gone at the head of his army to protect the
“ province of Gaul ; has drawn together a body of
“ horse, archers, elephants, under his own and the
“ peoples power ; and, in the most dangerous crisis
“ of the republic, has supported the safety and dig-
“ nity of the Roman people ; for these reasons the
“ senate decrees, that C. Cæsar, the son of Caius,
“ priest, proprætor, be hence forward a senator, and
“ vote in the rank and place of a prætor ; and that,
“ in soliciting for any future magistracy, the same
“ regard be had to him, as would have been had by
“ law, if he had been quæstor the year before——*.
“ As to those, who thought these honours too great
“ for so young a man, and apprehended danger from
“ his abuse of them, he declares their apprehensions
“ to be the effect of envy, rather than fear ; since the
“ the nature of things was such, that he, who had
“ once got a taste of true glory, and found himself
“ universally dear to the senate and people, could ne-
“ ver think any other acquisition equal to it : he wish-
“ es that J. Cæsar had taken the same course, when
“ young, of endearing himself to the senate and ho-
“ nest men ; but, by neglecting that, he spent the
“ force of his great genius in acquiring a vain popula-
“ rity ; and, having no regard to the senate and the
“ better sort, opened himself a way to power, which

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ the virtue of a free people could not bear:——that
“ there was nothing of this kind to be feared from
“ the son; nor, after the proof of such admirable pru-
“ dence in a boy, any ground to imagine that his rip-
“ er age would be less prudent:——for what greater
“ folly could there be, than to prefer an useless pow-
“ er, an invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, al-
“ ways slippery and tottering, to true, weighty, solid
“ glory?——If they suspected him as an enemy to
“ some of their best and most valued citizens, they
“ might lay aside those fears, he had given up all his
“ resentments to the republic; made her the mode-
“ ratrix of all his acts——that he knew the most in-
“ ward sentiments of the youth; would pawn his
“ credit for him to the senate and people; would pro-
“ mise, engage, undertake, that he would always be
“ the same that he now was; such as they should
“ wish and desire to see him——*. He proceeds al-
“ so to give a public testimonial of praise and thanks
“ to L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the republic,
“ in bringing over the fourth legion from Antony to
“ Cæsar; and moves, that it might be granted to him,
“ for that piece of service, to sue for and hold any
“ magistracy three years before the legal time——.†
“ Lastly, as to the veteran troops, which had follow-
“ ed the authority of Cæsar and the senate, and es-
“ pecially the Martial, and fourth legions, he moved,
“ that an exemption from service should be decreed
“ to them and their children, except in the case of

* Ibid. 18.

† Ibid. 19.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ a Gallic or domestic tumult ; and that the consuls
 “ C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, or one of them, should pro-
 “ vide lands in Campania, or elsewhere, to be divided
 “ among them ; and that, as soon as the present war was
 “ over, they should all be discharged, and punctual-
 “ ly receive whatever sums of money C. Cæsar had
 “ promised to them when they first declared for
 “ him.—

This was the substance of his speech ; in the latter part of which, the proposal of honours, the senate readily agreed with him : and though those which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others of the first rank, who thought them not great enough ; so that Philippus added the honour of a statue ; Ser. Sulpicius, and Servilius, the privilege of suing for any magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had proposed †. But the assembly was much divided about the main question, of sending a deputation to Antony : some of the principal senators were warmly for it ; and the consuls themselves favoured it, and artfully avoided to put it to the vote ‡ ; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was

† Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius : nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut. 15.

‡ Has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Phil. 14. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively, while the senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius the tribune put his negative upon them §. This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed at last for an embassy; and three consular senators were presently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry him only the peremptory commands of the senate, to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul; they had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in Modena, and signify to him and his army, that the senate and people had a grateful sense of their services, which would one day be a great honour to them ‡.

The unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they

|| Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum sic valuit, ut quamquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Phil. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

† Quamquam non est illa legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideant, ne Provinciam depopuletur.—Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque ejus adiant, &c. ib. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

could not forbear calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations†. He went therefore directly from the senate into the Rostra, preceded by Appuleius, the tribune, and acquainted them in a speech with the result of their debates,——“ that the senate, except-
“ ing a few, after they had stood firm for three days
“ to his opinion, had given it up at last, with less gra-
“ vity indeed than became them, yet not meanly or
“ shamefully, having decreed not so much an embas-
“ sy as a denunciation of war to Antony, if he did
“ not obey it : which carried indeed an appearance
“ of severity ; and he wished only that it had carried
“ no delay——that Antony, he was sure, would
“ never obey it, nor ever submit to their power, who
“ had never been in his own——that he would do
“ therefore in that place what he had been doing in
“ the senate ; testify, warn and declare to them be-
“ fore-hand, that Antony would perform no part of
“ what their ambassadors were sent to require of him
“ ——that he would still waste the country, besiege
“ Modena, and not suffer the ambassadors themselves
“ to enter the town, or speak with Brutus——be-
“ lieve me, says he, I know the violence, the im-
“ pudence, the audaciousness of the man—let our
“ ambassadors then make haste, which I know they
“ are resolved to do ; but do you prepare your mili-
“ tary habit ; for it is a part also of our decree, that

† Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam ? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Phil. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ if he does not comply, we must all put on that
“ garb : we shall certainly put it on : he will never
“ obey : we shall lament the loss of so many days
“ which might have been employed in action——*.
“ I am not afraid, when he comes to hear, how I
“ have declared this before-hand, that, for the sake
“ of confuting me, he should change his mind, and
“ submit. He will never do it ; will not envy me
“ this glory ; will chuse rather, that you should think
“ me wise, than him modest—he observes, that
“ though it would have been better to send no mes-
“ sage, yet some good would flow from it to the re-
“ public ; for when the ambassadors shall make the
“ report, which they surely will make, of Antony’s
“ refusal to obey the people and senate, who can be
“ so perverse, as to look upon him any longer as a
“ citizen ?—Wherefore wait, says he, with patience,
“ citizens, the return of the ambassadors, and digest
“ the inconvenience of a few days : if on their return
“ they bring peace, call me prejudiced ; if war, pro-
“ vident *.”——Then, after assuring them “ of his
“ perpetual vigilance for their safety, and applauding
“ their wonderful alacrity in the cause, and declar-
“ ing, that of all the assemblies which he had seen,
“ he had never known so full an one as the present,”
“ he thus concludes, “ The season of liberty is now
“ come, my citizens, much later indeed than became
“ the people of Rome ; but so ripe now, that it can-
“ not be deferred a moment. What we have hither-
“ to suffered was owing to a kind of fatality, which

* Phil. 6. 1, 2. 3.

† Ibid. 4, 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ we have born as well as we could ; but if any such
“ case should happen again, it must be owing to our-
“ selves : it is not possible for the people of Rome to
“ be slaves, whom the gods have destined to the com-
“ mand of all nations : the affair is now reduced to
“ the last extremity ; the struggle is for liberty : it
“ is your part either to conquer, which will surely be
“ the fruit of your piety and concord, or to suffer any
“ thing rather than live slaves : other nations may
“ endure slavery ; but the proper end and business
“ of the Roman people is liberty.”

The ambassadors prepared themselves immediately to execute their commission, and the next morning early set forwards to Antony, though Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state of health. Various were the speculations about the success of this message : but Antony gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to press the siege of Modena, or to take such measures as fresh accidents might offer : nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it some pretence for opening a treaty with him ; so as to give room to the chiefs of the Cæsarian faction to unite themselves against the senate and republican party ; which seemed to be inspired by Cicero, with a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of the late tyranny. For this purpose the partisans of that cause were endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was enjoined ; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

to cool the ardour of the city for the prosecution of the war : Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a constant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his letters, as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends *.

Cicero, therefore, at a meeting of the senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, “ that the affairs then proposed to their deliberation were of little consequence, though necessary in the common course of public business, about the Appian way, the coin, the Luperici, which would easily be adjusted ; but that his mind was called off from the consideration of them by the more important concerns of the republic—that he had always been afraid of sending the embassy—and now every body saw what a languor the expectation of it had caused in peoples minds ; and what a handle it had given to the practices of those, who grieved to see the senate recovering its ancient authority ; the people united with them ; all Italy on the same side ; their armies prepared ; their generals ready to take the field—who feign answers for Antony, and ap-

* Ille literas ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum rerum ? eas tu lætus proferas ?—describendas etiam des improbis civibus ? eorum augeas animos ? bonorum spem, virtutemque debilitas ?—Phil. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“plaud them, as if they had sent ambassadors, not
“to give, but receive conditions from him.”—Then,
after exposing the danger and iniquity of such prac-
tices, and rallying the principal abettor of them,
Calenus, he adds, “that he, who all his life had been
“the author and promoter of civil peace; who owed
“whatever he was, whatever he had to it; his ho-
“nours, interest, dignity; nay, even the talents and
“abilities which he was master of; yet I,” says he,
“the perpetual adviser of peace, am for no peace
“with Antony”——where, perceiving himself to be
heard with great attention——he proceeds to explain
at large through the rest of his speech, “that such
“a peace would be dishonourable, dangerous, and
“could not possibly subsist.—He exhorts the senate
“therefore to be attentive, prepared, and armed be-
“fore hand, so as not to be caught by a smooth or
“suppliant answer, and the false appearance of equi-
“ty: that Antony must do every thing which was
“prescribed to him, before he could pretend to ask
“any thing; if not, that it was not the senate which
“proclaimed war against him, but he against the
“Roman people. But for you, fathers, I give you
“warning,” says he, “the question before you con-
“cerns the liberty of the people of Rome, which is
“entrusted to your care; it concerns the lives and
“fortunes of every honest man; it concerns your
“own authority; which you will for ever lose, if
“you do not retrieve it now.—I admonish you too,
“Pansa; for, though you want no advice, in which
“you excel, yet the best pilots in great storms are

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ sometimes admonished by passengers : never suffer
 “ that noble provision of arms and troops which you
 “ have made, to come to nothing : you have such
 “ an opportunity before you as no man ever had :
 “ by this firmness of the senate, this alacrity of the
 “ equestrian order, this ardour of the people, you
 “ have it in your power to free the republic for ever
 “ from fear and danger—*.”

The consuls, in the mean while, were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the embassy should not supersede their preparations for war ; and agreed between themselves, that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success both in the city and the country : for all the capital towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers ; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service †. The first part fell by lot to Hirtius ‡ ; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away without loss of time at the head of a brave army ; and particularly of the two legions, the Martial and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and

* Vid. Phil. 7.

+ An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis—hac jam tota Italia fuit. Phil. 7. 8. 9.

‡ Consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius. —Phil. 14. 2

A. Urb. 719. Cic. 64. Cons.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

now put themselves under the command and auspices of the consul. With these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Pansa could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself in the mean while with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts; and distressing him, by straitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage; in which he had some success, as he signified in a letter to his colleague Pansa, which was communicated to the senate: “I have possessed myself,” says he, “of Claterna, and driven out Antony’s garrison: his horse were routed in the action, and some of them slain §:” and, in all his letters to Cicero, he assured him, that he would undertake nothing, without the greatest caution; in answer, probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly till Pansa could come up to him ||.

The ambassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of Ser. Sulpicius; which, happening when they were just arrived at Antony’s camp, left the embassy maimed and imperfect, as Cicero says. by the loss of the best and

§ Dejeci præsidium, Claterna potitus sum, fugati equites, prælium commissum, occisi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

|| Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A Hirſtius.

ablest of the three †. The report, which they made to the senate, answered exactly in every point to what Cicero had foretold; “that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the town with great fury in their presence:” He offered, however, some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the senate: the purport of them was, “that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship: that all his decrees from Cæsar’s books and papers should stand firm: that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven commissioners, created to divide the lands to the veteran soldiers; and that his judiciary law should not be repealed. On these terms he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided, that he might have the greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus*.”

† Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit. Phil. 9. 1.

* Ante consules oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatione respiravit—cum illi contempti et rejecti revertissent, dixissentque senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Phil. 8. 7. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Pansa summoned the senate to consider the report of the ambassadors; which raised a general indignation through the city, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the house into his sentiments: but, contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him; all tending to soften the rigour of his motions, and give them a turn more favourable towards Antony. He moved the senate to decree, that a war or rebellion was actually commenced: they carried it for a tumult: he urged them, to declare Antony an enemy: they carried it for a softer term, of adversary †: he proposed, that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his lieutenants, who was then in the senate, taking notes of every thing which passed. In these votes, Pansa himself, and all the consular senators concurred; even L. Cæsar, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being Antony's uncle, thought himself obliged by decency to vote on the milder side ‡.

But Cicero, in his turn, easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second embassy; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the *sagum* or *habit of war*: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected

† Ego princeps sagorum: ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium: semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12. 7.

‡ Vid. Phil. 8. 1. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

the name. In all decrees of this kind, the consular senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit ; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the city §. In a letter to Cassius, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time : “ We have excellent
“ consuls, but most shameful consulars : a brave se-
“ nate ; but the lower they are in dignity, the braver :
“ nothing firmer and better than the people, and all
“ Italy universally : but nothing more detestable and
“ infamous, than our ambassadors, Philip and Piso :
“ who, when sent only to carry the orders of the
“ senate to Antony, none of which he would com-
“ ply with, brought back, of their own accord, in-
“ tolerable demands from him : wherefore all the
“ world now flocks about me ; and I am grown po-
“ pular in a salutary cause *,” &c.

The senate met again the next day, to draw into form, and perfect what had been resolved upon in

§ Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas ; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre vestitu. Phil. 8. 11.

* Egregios consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares : Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem fœdus Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius : qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent : cum ille earum rerum nulli parvisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur : factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. fam. 12. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

the preceding debate : when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before : “ He shewed
 “ the absurdity of their scruples about voting a *civil*
 “ *war* : that the word *tumult*, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or, if
 “ any, implied a greater perturbation of all things† :
 “ he proved, from every step that Antony had taken,
 “ and was taking ; from every thing which the senate, the people, the towns of Italy were doing
 “ and decreeing against him, that they were truly
 “ and properly in a state of civil war ; the fifth
 “ which had happened in their memory, and the
 “ most desperate of them all, being the first which
 “ was ever raised, not by a dissension of parties contending for a superiority in the republic, but against an union of all parties, to enslave and oppress the republic‡. He proceeds to expostulate
 “ with Calenus, for his obstinate adherence to Antony, and exposes the weakness of his pretended
 “ plea for it ; a love of peace, and concern for the
 “ lives of the citizens :—He puts him in mind, that
 “ there was no juster cause of taking arms, than to
 “ repel slavery ; that several other causes indeed
 “ were just, but this necessary : unless he did not
 “ take himself to be affected by it, for the hopes of
 “ sharing the dominion with Antony : if so, he was
 “ doubly mistaken ; first, for preferring a private interest to the public ; secondly, for thinking any

† Phil. 8. 1..

‡ Ibid. 3..

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ thing secure, or worth enjoying in a tyranny :—
“ That a regard for the safety of citizens was a
“ laudable principle, if he meant the good, the use-
“ ful, the friends to their country ; but if he meant
“ to save those who, though citizens by nature, were
“ enemies by choice ; what difference was there be-
“ tween him and such citizens ?——That their an-
“ cestors had quite another notion of the care of citi-
“ zens ; and when Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Grac-
“ chus, when Opimius slew Caius Gracchus, when
“ Marius killed Saturninus, they were all followed
“ by the greatest and the best both of the senate and
“ the people :——That the difference between Cal-
“ lenus’s opinion and his was not trifling, or about a
“ trifling matter ; the wishing well only to this or
“ that man : that he wished well to Brutus ; Calenus
“ to Antony : he wished to see a colony of Rome
“ preserved ; Calenus to see it stormed : that Cale-
“ nus could not deny this, who was contriving all
“ sorts of delay, which could distress Brutus, and
“ strengthen Antony—*.” He then addressed him-
self to the other consulars, and reproached them for
their shameful behaviour the day before, in voting
for a second embassy, and said, “ that when the am-
“ bassadors were sent against his judgment, he com-
“ forced himself with imagining, that, as soon as they
“ should return, despised and rejected by Antony,
“ and inform the senate, that he would neither re-
“ tire from Gaul, nor quit the siege of Modena, nor

* Ibid. 4.—6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ even suffer them to speak with Brutus ; that, out
“ of indignation, they should all arm themselves im-
“ mediately in the defence of Brutus ; but, on the
“ contrary, they were grown more dispirited, to hear
“ of Antony’s audaciousness ; and their ambassa-
“ dors, instead of courage, which they ought to have
“ brought, had brought back nothing but fear to
“ them—*. Good Gods,” says he, “ what is become
“ of the virtue of our ancestors?—When Popilius
“ was sent ambassador to Antiochus, and ordered
“ him, in the name of the senate, to depart from
“ Alexandria, which he was then besieging ; upon
“ the king’s deferring to answer, and contriving de-
“ lays, he drew a circle round him with his staff, and
“ bade him give his answer instantly, before he stirred
“ out of that place, or he would return to the senate
“ without it.—He then recites and ridicules the
“ several demands made by Antony ; their arro-
“ gance, stupidity, absurdity : and † reproves Piso
“ and Philip, men of such dignity, for the meanness
“ of bringing back conditions, when they were sent
“ only to carry commands.—He complains, that
“ they paid more respect to Antony’s ambassador,
“ Cotyla, than he to theirs : for, instead of shutting
“ the gates of the city against him, as they ought to
“ have done, they admitted him into that very temple
“ where the senate then sat ; where, the day before,
“ he was taking notes of what every man said, and
“ was caressed, invited, and entertained by some of

* Ibid. 7.

† Ibid 8. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ the principal senators, who had too little regard to
“ their dignity, too much to their danger. But what
“ after all was the danger? which must end either
“ in liberty or death: the one always desirable, the
“ other unavoidable: while to fly from death basely,
“ was worse than death itself.—That it used to be
“ the character of consular senators, to be vigilant,
“ attentive, always thinking, doing, or proposing
“ something for the good of the public: that he re-
“ membered old Scævola in the Marsic war, how, in
“ the extremity of age, oppressed with years and in-
“ firmities, he gave free access to every body; was
“ never seen in his bed; always the first in the se-
“ nate: he wished that they would all imitate such
“ industry; or, at least, not envy those who did*:
“ that, since they had now suffered a six years sla-
“ very, a longer term than honest and industrious
“ slaves used to serve; what watchings, what solici-
“ tude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the sake
“ of giving liberty to the Roman people?” He con-
“ cludes, by adding a clause to their last decree; “ to
“ grant pardon and impunity to all who should de-
“ sert Antony, and return to their duty by the fif-
“ teenth of March: or, if any who continued with
“ him, should do any service worthy of reward, that
“ one or both the consuls should take the first op-
“ portunity to move the senate in their favour: but
“ if any person from this time should go over to An-

* Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ tony, except Cotyla, that the senate would consider him as an enemy to his country.”

The public debates being thus adjusted, Pansa called the senate together again the next day, to deliberate on some proper honours to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the embassy :—He spoke largely in his praise, and advised to pay him all the honours which had ever been decreed to any who had lost their lives in the service of their country : a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue. Servilius, who spoke next, agreed to a funeral and monument, but was against a statue, as due only to those who had been killed by violence, in the discharge of their embassies. Cicero was not content with this, but, out of private interest to the man, as well as a regard to the public service, resolved to have all the honours paid to him which the occasion could possibly justify : in answer therefore to Servilius, he shewed, with his usual eloquence, that “ the case of Sulpicius was the same with the “ case of those who had been killed on the account “ of their embassies : that the embassy itself had “ killed him : that he set out upon it in so weak a “ condition, that, though he had some hopes of coming to Antony, he had none of returning : and “ when he was just arrived to the congress, expired “ in the very act of executing his commission* : that “ it was not the manner, but the cause of the death, “ which their ancestors regarded : if it was caused

* Phil. 9. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ by the embassy, they granted a public monument,
“ to encourage their fellow citizens, in dangerous
“ wars, to undertake that employment with cheer-
“ fulness : that several statues had been erected on
“ that account ; which none had ever merited better
“ than Sulpicius :---that there could be no doubt,
“ but that the embassy had killed him ; and that he
“ had carried out death along with him, which he
“ might have escaped by staying at home, under
“ the care of his wife and children---*. But when
“ he saw, that, if he did not obey the authority of
“ the senate, he should be unlike to himself ; and,
“ if he did obey, must necessarily lose his life ; he
“ chose, in so critical a state of the republic, rather
“ to die, than seem to decline any service which he
“ could possibly do : that he had many opportuni-
“ ties of refreshing and reposing himself in the cities
“ through which he passed, and was pressed to it by
“ his colleagues ; but, in spite of his distemper, per-
“ severed to death in the resolution of urging his
“ journey, and hastening to perform the commands
“ of the senate :---that, if they recollected how he
“ endeavoured to excuse himself from the task, when
“ it was first moved in the senate, they must needs
“ think, that this honour to him, when dead, was but
“ a necessary amends for the injury which they had
“ done to him when living : for, though it was harsh
“ to be said, yet he must say it ; that it was they
“ who had killed him, by over-ruling his excuse,

* Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Cos.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

“ when they saw it grounded, not on a feigned, but
“ a real sickness : and when, to their remonstrance,
“ the consul Pansa joined his exhortation, with a
“ gravity and force of speech, which his ears had not
“ learnt to bear ; then,” says he, “ he took his son
“ and me aside, and professed, that he could not help
“ preferring your authority to his own life : we,
“ through admiration of his virtue, durst not ven-
“ ture to oppose his will : his son was tenderly mov-
“ ed, nor was my concern much less ; yet both of
“ us were obliged to give way to the greatness of his
“ mind, and the force of his reasoning ; when, to
“ the joy of you all, he promised that he would do
“ whatever you prescribed, nor would decline the
“ danger of that vote, of which he himself had been
“ the proposer——restore life therefore to him, from
“ whom you have taken it : for the life of the dead
“ is in the memory of the living : take care, that he,
“ whom you unwillingly sent to his death, receive
“ an immortality from you : for, if you decree a
“ statue to him in the rostra, the remembrance of
“ his embassy will remain to all posterity—*.” Then,
after illustrating the great virtues, talents, and ex-
cellent character of Sulpicius, he observes, “ that all
“ these would be perpetuated by their own merit
“ and effects, and that the statue was the monument
“ rather of the gratitude of the senate, than of the
“ man ; of a public, rather than of a private signifi-
“ cation ; an eternal testimony of Antony’s audaci-

* Ibid. 4. 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

ousness ; of his waging an impious war against his country ; of his rejecting the embassy of the senate—*.” For which reasons, he proposed a decree, “ that a statue of brass should be erected to him in the rostra, by order of the senate, and the cause inscribed on the base ; *that he died in the service of the republic* ; with an area of five feet on all sides of it, for his children and posterity to see the shews of gladiators :—that a magnificent funeral should be made for him at the public charge ; and the consul Pansa should assign him a place of burial, in the Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet every way, to be granted publicly, as a sepulchre for him, his children, and posterity.”—The senate agreed to what Cicero desired ; and the statue itself, as we are told by a writer of the third century, remained to his time in the rostra of Augustus †.

Sulpicius was of a noble and patrician family, of the same age, the same studies, and the same principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship. They went through their exercises together when young, both at Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of Molo : whence he became an eminent pleader of causes, and passed through all the great offices of the state, with a singular reputation of wisdom, learning, and integrity ; a constant admirer of the modesty of the ancients ; and a reprover of the insolence of his own times.

* Ibid. 5. 6.

† Pomponius de origine juris.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

When he could not arrive at the first degree of fame, as an orator, he resolved to excel in what was next to it, the character of a lawyer; chusing rather to be the first, in the second art, than the second only in the first: leaving therefore to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law. In this he succeeded to his wish; and was far superior to all who had ever professed it in Rome; being the first, who reduced it to a proper science, or rational system; and added light and method to that which all others before him had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the municipal laws: but enlarged by a comprehensive view of universal equity, which he made the interpreter of its sanctions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law. In his political behaviour he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissension; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accomodation, that he gained the name of the *peace-maker*. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Caesar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

he was honoured by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all measures which seemed likely to establish the public concord; and died at last, as he had lived, in the very act and office of peace-making ||.

The senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Cassius from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now sent public letters to the consuls, giving a particular ac-

|| Non facile quem dixerim plus studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse : nam & in iisdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus ; & postea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset & doctior : & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—sed fortasse maluit, id quod esset adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps—juris civilis magnum usum & apud Scævolum & apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur—(Brut. 262, &c.) neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit : ita ea quæ proficiscebantur a legibus & a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat : neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere (Phil. 9. 5.) Servius vero pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. (Ad Att. 15. 7.) cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis & in consulatu tuo & post consulatum fuisse. (Ep. fam. 4. 1)

N. B. The old lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and skill in the law : That going one day to consult Mucius Scævola about some point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's answer, that after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear saying, "It is a shame for a nobleman, and a patrician, and a pleader of causes, to be ignorant of that law, which he professes to understand." The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest lawyer in Rome; and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books written by himself on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.—

The

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

count of his success against “ Antony’s brother Caius,
 “ in securing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece,
 “ with all the several armies in those countries, to the
 “ interests of the republic : that C. Antony was re-
 “ tired to Apollonia, with seven cohorts ; where a
 “ good account would soon be given of him : that a
 “ legion under L. Piso had surrendered itself to young
 “ Cicero, the commander of his horse : that Dolabel-
 “ la’s horse, which was marching in two separate bo-
 “ dies towards Syria, the one in Thessaly, the other
 “ in Macedonia, had deserted their leaders, and join-
 “ ed themselves to him : that Vatinius had opened
 “ the gates of Dyrrachium to him, and given up the
 “ town with his troops into his hands : that in all
 “ these transactions, Q. Hortensius, the proconsul of
 “ Macedonia, had been particularly serviceable, in
 “ disposing the provinces and their armies to declare
 “ for the cause of liberty *.”

Pansa no sooner received the letters, than he sum-
 moned the senate, to acquaint them with the con-
 tents ; which raised an incredible joy through the
 whole city † : after the letters were read, Pansa spoke
 largely in the praises of Brutus ; extolled his con-

The Jesuits Catrou and Rouille have put this Sulpicius into the
 list of the conspirators who killed Cæsar : but a moderate ac-
 quaintance with the character of the man, or with Cicero’s writ-
 ings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none
 of consular rank, but Trebonius, concerned in that affair. Hist.
 Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not. a.

* Vid. Philip. x. 4, 5, 6.

† Dii immortales ! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, quæ lætitia
 Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat ?—Ad Brut. l. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

duct and services ; and moved, that public honours and thanks should be decreed to him : and then, according to his custom, called upon his father-in-law Calenus, to declare his sentiments the first : who, in a premeditated speech delivered from writing, “ acknowledged Brutus’s letters to be well and “ properly drawn ; but since what he had done, was “ done without any commission and public authori- “ ty, that he should be required to deliver up his “ forces to the orders of the senate, or the proper go- “ vernors of the provinces——*.” Cicero spoke next, “ and began with giving the thanks of the “ House to Pansa, for calling them together on that “ day, when they had no expectation of it : and not “ deferring a moment to give them a share of the “ joy which Brutus’s letters had brought. He ob- “ serves, that Pansa, by speaking so largely in the “ praise of Brutus, had shewn that to be true, which “ he had always taken to be so, that no man ever “ envied another’s virtue, who was conscious of his “ own : that he had prevented him, to whom, for his “ intimacy with Brutus, that task seemed particular- “ ly to belong, from saying so much as he intended “ on that subject”——then addressing himself to Calenus, he asks, “ What could be the meaning of that “ perpetual war which he declared against the Bru- “ tus’s? why he alone was always opposing, when eve- “ ry one else was almost adoring them?——that to “ talk of Brutus’s letters being rightly drawn, was not

* Phil. x. 1, 2, 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ to praise Brutus, but his secretary—when did he ever
“ hear of a decree in that stile, that letters were pro-
“ perly written : yet the expression did not fall from
“ him by chance, but was designed, premeditated,
“ and brought in writing——*. He exhorts him to
“ consult with his son-in-law Pansa oftener than with
“ himself, if he would preserve his character : pro-
“ fesses, that he could not help pitying him, to hear
“ it given out among the people, that there was not
“ a second vote on the side of him, who gave the
“ first ; which would be the case, he believed, in that
“ day’s debate. You would take away” says he, “ the
“ legions from Brutus, even those which he has drawn
“ off from the traitorous designs of C. Antony, and
“ engaged by his own authority in the public service :
“ you would have him sent once more, as it were,
“ into banishment, naked and forlorn : but for you,
“ fathers, if ever you betray or desert Brutus, what
“ citizen will you honour ? whom will you favour ?
“ unless you think those, who offer kingly diadems,
“ worthy to be preserved ; those who abolish the
“ name of king, to be abandoned. He proceeds to
“ display with great force the merit and praises of
“ Brutus ; his moderation, mildness, patience of in-
“ juries : how studiously he had avoided every step,
“ which could give a handle to civil tumults ; quit-
“ ting the city ; living retired in the country ; for-
“ bidding the resort of friends to him ; and leaving
“ Italy itself, lest any cause of war should arise on

* Ibid. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ his account—that as long as he saw the senate dis-
“ posed to bear every thing, he was resolved to bear
“ too ; but when he perceived them inspired with a
“ spirit of liberty, he then exerted himself to provide
“ them succours to defend it—* : that if he had not
“ defeated the desperate attempts of C. Antony, they
“ had lost Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece ; the
“ last of which afforded either a commodious retreat
“ to Antony, when driven out of Italy, or the best
“ opportunity of invading it : which now, by Brutus’s
“ management, being strongly provided with troops,
“ stretched out its arms, as it were, and offered its
“ help to Italy †.—That Caius’s march through the
“ provinces was, to plunder the allies, to scatter waste
“ and desolation wherever he passed, to employ the
“ armies of the Roman people against the people
“ themselves : whereas Brutus made it a law, where-
“ soever he came, to dispense light, hope, and secu-
“ rity to all around him : in short, that the one ga-
“ thered forces to preserve, the other to overturn the
“ republic : that the soldiers themselves could judge
“ of this, as well as the senate ; as they had declared,
“ by their desertion of C. Antony, who by that time
“ either was, or would soon be Brutus’s prisoner ‡—
“ that there was no apprehension of danger from
“ Brutus’s power ; that his legions, his mercenaries,
“ his horse, and above all, himself was wholly theirs ;
“ formed for the service of the republic, as well by
“ his own excellent virtue, as a kind of fatality de-

* Philip. 3, 4.

† Ibid. 5.

‡ Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ rived from his ancestors, both on the father’s and
 “ the mother’s side—that none could ever blame
 “ him for any thing, unless for too great a back-
 “ wardness and aversion to war; and his not humour-
 “ ing the ardour of all Italy in their eager thirst of
 “ liberty—that it was a vain fear, which some pre-
 “ tended to entertain, that the veterans would be
 “ disgusted to see Brutus at the head of an army; as
 “ if there were any difference between his army, and
 “ the armies of Hirtius, Pansa, D. Brutus, Octavius;
 “ all which had severally received public honours for
 “ their defence of the people of Rome: that M. Bru-
 “ tus could not be more suspected by the veterans,
 “ than Decimus; for though the act of the Brutus’s,
 “ and the praise of it was common to them both,
 “ yet those, who disapproved it, were more angry
 “ with Decimus; as thinking him, of all others, the
 “ last who ought to have done it: yet what were all
 “ their armies now doing, but relieving Decimus from
 “ the siege? *—that if there was any real danger
 “ from Brutus, Pansa’s sagacity would easily find it
 “ out: but as they had just now heard from his own
 “ mouth, he was so far from thinking his army to be
 “ dangerous, that he looked upon it as the firmest
 “ support of the commonwealth†---that it was the
 “ constant art of the disaffected, to oppose the name
 “ of the veterans to every good design: that he was
 “ always ready to encourage their valour, but would
 “ never endure their arrogance. Shall we, says he,

* Ibid. 7.

† Ibid. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ who are now breaking off the shackles of our ser-
“ vitude, be discouraged, if any one tells us, that the
“ veterans will not have it so?—let that then come
“ out from me at last, which is true, and becoming
“ my character to speak ; that if the resolutions of
“ this body must be governed by the will of the ve-
“ terans ; if all our words and acts must be regulat-
“ ed by their humour, then it is high time to wish
“ for death ; which to Roman citizens was ever pre-
“ ferable to slavery *—that since so many chances of
“ death surrounded them all both day and night, it
“ was not the part of a man, much less of a Roman,
“ to scruple the giving up that breath to his country,
“ which he must necessarily give up to nature †—that
“ Antony was the single and common enemy of them
“ all ; though he had indeed his brother Lucius with
“ him, who seemed to be born on purpose, that Mar-
“ cus might not be the most infamous of all mortals :
“ that he had a crew also of desperate villains gap-
“ ing after the spoils of the republic—that the army
“ of Brutus was provided against these ; whose sole
“ will, thought, and purpose was, to protect the se-
“ nate and the liberty of the people—who, after try-
“ ing in vain, what patience would do, found it ne-
“ cessary at last to oppose force to force ‡—that they
“ ought therefore to grant the same privilege to M.
“ Brutus, which they had granted before to Decimus,
“ and to Octavius ; and confirm, by public authority,
“ what he had been doing for them by his private

* Ibid. 9.

† Ibid. 10.

‡ Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ counsel.”—For which purpose he proposed the following decree—“ Whereas by the pains, counsel, industry, virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus ||, proconsul, in the utmost distress of the republic, the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all their legions, armies, and horse, are now in the power of the consuls, senate and people of Rome; that Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, has acted therein well, and for the good of the republic; agreeably to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and to his usual manner of serving the commonwealth; and that his conduct is and ever will be acceptable to the senate and people of Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, be ordered to protect, guard, and defend the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece; and command that army, which he himself has raised: that whatever money he wants for military service, he may use and take it from any part of the public revenues, where it can best be raised; or borrow it where he thinks proper; and impose contributions of grain and forage; and take care to draw all his troops as near to Italy as possible: and whereas it appears, by the letters of Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, that the public service has been greatly advanced, by the endeavours and virtue of Q. Hortensius, proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures with Q.

|| M. Brutus, as appears from the stile of this decree, had been adopted lately by his mother's brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed with the possession of his uncle's estate.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, to the great benefit of the
 “ commonwealth ; that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, has
 “ acted therein rightly, regularly, and for the public
 “ good ; and that it is the will of the senate, that Q.
 “ Hortensius, proconsul, with his quæstors, proquæs-
 “ tors, and lieutenants, hold the province of Mace-
 “ donia, till a successor be appointed by the senate.”

Cicero sent this speech to Brutus, with that also, which he made on the first of January ; of which Brutus says in answer to him, “ I have read your two
 “ orations, the one on the first of January, the other
 “ on the subject of my letters, against Calenus : you
 “ expect now without doubt, that I should praise
 “ them : I am at a loss what to praise the most in
 “ them : your courage, or your abilities : I allow you
 “ now in earnest to call them *Philippics*, as you in-
 “ timated jocosely in a former letter *.”—Thus the name of *Philippics*, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gaiety and jest only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixt and standing title of these orations : which yet for several ages were called, we find, indifferently either *Philippics* or *Antonians* †. Brutus declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had

* Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es ; altera de literis meis, quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel *Philippicæ* vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad Brut. l. 2. 5.

† M. Cicero in primo *Antoniarum* ito scriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

seen, that Cicero promised to send him afterwards all the rest *."

Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly for Athens; where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of Rome, who for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero; and, after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; admiring his parts and virtue, and surprised to find in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to tyranny †. He made him therefore one of his lieutenants, though he was but twenty years old; gave him the command of his horse; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalled both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his general, and great benefit to the public service; as Brutus did him the justice to signify both in his private and public letters to Rome. In writing to Cicero, "Your son," says he, "recommends himself to me so effectually by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and in short, by every duty, that

* Hæc ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

† Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A Hirtius

“ he seems never to drop the remembrance of whose son he is : wherefore since it is not possible for me to make you love him more than you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to persuade yourself, that he will have no occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in order to obtain his father’s honours—*.” This account, given by one who was no flatterer, may be considered as the real character of the youth : which is confirmed likewise by what Lentulus wrote of him about the same time : “ I could not see your son,” says he, “ when I was last with Brutus, because he was gone with the horse into winter quarters : but by my faith, it gives me great joy for your sake, for his, and especially my own, that he is in such esteem and reputation : for as he is your son, and worthy of you, I cannot but look upon him as my brother †.”

Cicero was so full of the greater affairs, which were the subject of his letters to Brutus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said about his son : he just touches it however in one of two letters : “ As to my son, if his merits be as great as you write,

* Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se-probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

† Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius ea esse eum opinione, & tua & ipsius, & in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus, teque dignus est. Vale. 1111. Kal. Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

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" I rejoice at it as much as I ought to do : or if you
 " magnify it out of love to him, even that gives me
 " an incredible joy, to perceive that he is beloved by
 " you*. Again ; I desire you, my dear Brutus, to
 " keep my son with you as much as possible : he will
 " find no better school of virtue, than in the contem-
 " plation and imitation of you †."

Though Brutus intimated nothing in his public letters, but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits, and begged to be supplied with both from Italy, especially with recruits ; either by a vote of the senate, or if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of Pansa ; to which Cicero answered, " You
 " tell me that you want two necessary things, recruits and money : it is difficult to help you. I
 " know no other way of raising money which can be
 " of use to you, but what the senate has decreed, of
 " borrowing it from the cities. As to recruits, I do
 " not see what can be done : for Pansa is so far from
 " granting any share of his army or recruits to you,
 " that he is even uneasy to see so many volunteers
 " going over to you : his reason, I take it, is, that he
 " thinks no forces too great for the demands of our

* De Cicerone meo, & si tantum est in eo quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo : & si, quod amas eum, eo majora facis ; id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

† Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. xiiii. Kal. Mart. ib. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“affairs in Italy : for as to what many suspect, that
 “he has no mind to see you too strong, I have no
 “suspicion of it †.”——Pansa seems to have been
 much in the right, for refusing to part with any troops
 out of Italy, where the stress of the war now lay, on
 the success of which the fate of the whole republic
 depended.

But there came news of a different kind about the
 same time to Rome, of Dolabella's successful exploits
 in Asia. He left the city, as it is said above, before
 the expiration of his consulship, to possess himself of
 Syria ; which had been allotted to him by Antony's
 management : and taking his way through Greece
 and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he
 could raise in those countries, he passed over into
 Asia, in hopes of inducing that province to abandon
 Trebonius, and declare for him : having sent his e-
 missaries therefore before him to prepare for his re-
 ception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius
 resided, without any shew of hostility, or forces suf-
 ficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire
 nothing more, than a free passage through the coun-

† Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento & pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios : quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur : quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit ; quod ego non suspicor. Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

try to his own province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the town ; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates : where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on Dolabella's part of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised in his turn, that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forwards to Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed ; and finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to surprize it by stratagem : embracing therefore Trebonius's offer, he set forwards towards Ephesus ; but, after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired, he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault ; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger †.

Dolabella treated him with the utmost cruelty ; “ kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody ; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a spear ; and his body to be dragged about the streets, and thrown into the sea *.” This was the

† Appian. 3. p. 542.

* Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli.—Secutæ colloctiones

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

first blood that was spilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal conspirators, and the only one who was of consular rank. It had been projected without doubt in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side, or make them unwilling at least to act against them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of Trebonius's death, the senate was summoned by the consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote, and said, that, if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it. The indignation of the city was so inflamed, that he was forced to comply with the popular humour, and hoped, perhaps, to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But though Cale-

collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ benevolentiae—nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius—interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari jussit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac laniatum abiecit in mare, &c. Phil. xi. 2, 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

nus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a general to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed; the one, that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary commission; the other, that the two consuls should jointly prosecute the war, with the provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Pansa; and, pushed therefore not only by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the consuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and, above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who, by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while Cassius's mother in law, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved, at all hazards, to defend the honour of Cassius; and, when the debate was resumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour.

He began his speech by observing, " that, in their present grief for the lamentable fate of Trebonius, the republic, however, would reap some good from it, since they now saw the barbarous cruelty of

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ those who had taken arms against their country :
 “ for, of the two chiefs of the present war, the one,
 “ by effecting what he wished, had discovered what
 “ the other aimed at *. That they both meant no-
 “ thing less than the death and destruction of all
 “ honest men ; nor would be satisfied, it seemed,
 “ with simple death, for that was the punishment of
 “ nature, but thought the rack and tortures due to
 “ their revenge :—that what Dolabella had execut-
 “ ed, was the picture of what Antony intended :
 “ that they were a true pair, exactly matched, march-
 “ ing by concert and equal paces in the execution
 “ of their wicked purposes.”——This he illustrates,
 by parallel instances from the conduct of each ; and,
 after displaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and
 the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper
 to excite indignation against the one, and compas-
 sion for the other ; he shews, “ that Dolabella was
 “ still the more unhappy of the two, and must needs
 “ suffer more from the guilt of his mind, than Tre-
 “ bonius from the tortures of his body.—What
 “ doubt, says he, can there be which of them is the
 “ most miserable ? he whose death the senate and
 “ people are eager to revenge ; or he, who is adjudg-
 “ ed to be a traitor by the unanimous vote of the
 “ senate ? for, in all other respects, it is the greatest
 “ injury to Trebonius, to compare his life with Dola-
 “ bella’s. As to the one, every body knows his wis-
 “ dom, wit, humanity, innocence, greatness of mind

* Phil. xi. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ in freeing his country ; but as to the other, cruelty
“ was his delight from a boy, with a lewdness so
“ shameless and abandoned, that he used to value
“ himself for doing, what his very adversaries could
“ not object to him with modesty. Yet this man,
“ good Gods ! was once mine : for I was not very
“ curious to enquire into his vices ; nor should I now
“ perhaps have been his enemy, had he not shewn
“ himself an enemy to you, to his country, to the
“ domestic gods and altars of us all ; nay, even to
“ nature and humanity itself *. He exhorts them,
“ from this warning given by Dolabella, to act with
“ the greater vigour against Antony : for if he, who
“ had about him but a few of those capital incendi-
“ aries, the ringleaders of rapine and rebellion, durst
“ attempt an act so abominable, what barbarity were
“ they not to expect from Antony, who had the
“ whole crew of them in his camp ?”—the principal
of whom he describes by name and character ; and
adds, “ that, as he had often dissented unwillingly
“ from Calenus, so now at last he had the pleasure
“ to agree with him, and to let them see that he had
“ no dislike to the man, but to the cause : that, in
“ this case, he not only concurred with him, but
“ thanked him for propounding a vote so severe, and
“ worthy of the republic, in decreeing Dolabella an
“ enemy, and his estate to be confiscated †.”—Then,
as to the second point, which was of greater delicacy,
the nomination of a general to be sent against Dola-

* Phil. 4.

† Ibid. 5. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

bella, he proceeds to give his reasons for rejecting the two opinions proposed ; the one, for sending Servilius, the other, for the two consuls——of the first, he says, “ that extraordinary commissions were always odious, where they were not necessary : and “ wherever they had been granted, it was in cases “ very different from this :——that, if the commission in debate should be decreed to Servilius, “ it would seem an affront to all the rest of the “ same rank, that, being equal in dignity, they “ should be thought unworthy of the same honour :——that he himself indeed had voted an extraordinary commission to young Cæsar ; but Cæsar “ had first given an extraordinary protection and deliverance to them : that they must either have “ taken his army from him, or decreed the command “ of it to him ; which could not therefore be so properly said to be given, as not taken away : but “ that no such commission had ever been granted to “ any one, who was wholly idle and unemployed *.— “ As to the second opinion, of decreeing that province to the consuls, he shews it to be both against “ the dignity of the consuls themselves, and against “ the public service : that, when D. Brutus, a consul elect, was actually besieged, on the preservation of whom their common safety depended ; and “ when a dreadful war was on foot, already intrusted “ to the two consuls, the very mention of Asia and “ Syria would give a handle to jealousy and envy ; “ and, though the decree was not to take place till

* Phil. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ D. Brutus should first be relieved, yet a new com-
 “ mission would necessarily take off some part of
 “ their thoughts and attention from the old.” Then,
 addressing himself to Pansa, he says, “ that though
 “ his mind, he knew, was intent on delivering D.
 “ Brutus, yet the nature of things would force him
 “ to turn it sometimes towards Dolabella; and that,
 “ if he had more minds than one, they should all be
 “ directed and wholly fixed on Modena †: that, for
 “ his own part, he had resigned, in his consulship, a
 “ rich and well furnished province, that nothing
 “ might interrupt his endeavours to quench that
 “ flame which was then raised in his country: he
 “ wished that Pansa would imitate him whom he
 “ used to commend; that, if the consuls however de-
 “ sired to have provinces, as other great men had
 “ usually done, let them first bring D. Brutus safe
 “ home to them: who ought to be guarded with the
 “ same care, as the image that fell from Heaven, and
 “ was kept in the temple of Vesta, in the safety of
 “ which they were all safe. That this decree would
 “ create great delay and obstruction to the war a-
 “ gainst Dolabella; which required a general pre-
 “ pared, equipped, and already invested with com-
 “ mand: one who had authority, reputation, an army,
 “ and a resolution tried in the service of his coun-
 “ try ‡:—that it must therefore either be Brutus or
 “ Cassius, or both of them——that Brutus could not
 “ be spared from Macedonia, where he was quelling

† Phil. 9. ‡ Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ the last efforts of the faction, and oppressing C.
“ Antony, who, with the remains of a broken army,
“ was still in possession of some considerable places :
“ that when he had finished that work, if he found
“ it of use to the commonwealth to pursue Dolabella,
“ he would do it of himself, as he had hitherto done,
“ without waiting for their orders : for both he and
“ Cassius had, on many occasions, been a senate to
“ themselves : that in such a season of general con-
“ fusion, it was necessary to be governed by the
“ times, rather than by rules : that Brutus and Cas-
“ sius ever held the safety and liberty of their coun-
“ try to be the most sacred rule of their acting*.
“ For by what law,” says he, “ by what right have
“ they hitherto been acting, the one in Greece, the
“ other in Syria, but by that which Jupiter himself
“ ordained, that all things beneficial to the commu-
“ nity should be esteemed lawful and just? for law
“ is nothing else but right reason, derived to us from
“ the Gods, injoining what is honest, prohibiting the
“ contrary : this was the law which Cassius obeyed,
“ when he went into Syria; another man’s province,
“ if we judge by written law ; but when these are
“ overturned, his own, by the law of nature :—but
“ that Cassius’s acts might be confirmed also by the
“ authority of the senate, he proposed a decree to
“ this effect ; that whereas the senate has declar-
“ ed P. Dolabella to be an enemy of the Roman
“ people, and ordered him to be pursued by open

* Phil. 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ war ; to the intent, that he may suffer the punish-
“ ment due to him, both from Gods and men ; it is
“ the will of the senate, that C. Cassius, proconsul,
“ shall hold the province of Syria, in the same man-
“ ner as if he had obtained it by right of law : and
“ that he receive the several armies from Q. Marcius
“ Crispus, proconsul ; L. Staius Murcus, proconsul ;
“ A. Allienus, lieutenant ; which they are hereby
“ required to deliver to him : that with these, and
“ what other forces he can procure, he shall pursue
“ Dolabella both by land and sea : that, for the oc-
“ casions of the war, he shall have a power to de-
“ mand ships, seamen, money, and all things useful
“ to him, from whomsoever he thinks fit, in Syria,
“ Asia, Bithynia, Pontus : and that, whatever pro-
“ vince he comes into in prosecuting the war, he
“ shall have an authority superior to that of the pro-
“ per governor : that if king Deiotarus, the father,
“ or the son, shall assist C. Cassius, proconsul, with
“ their troops, as they have oft assisted the Roman
“ people in other wars, their conduct will be accept-
“ able to the senate and people : that, if any of the
“ other kings, tetrarchs, and potentates, shall do the
“ like, the senate and people will not be unmindful
“ of their services : that, as soon as the public affairs
“ were settled, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, the consuls,
“ one or both of them, should take the first oppor-
“ tunity of moving the senate about the disposal of
“ the consular and prætorian provinces : and that, in
“ the mean while, they should all continue in the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ hands of those who now held them, till successors
“ were appointed by the senate *.”

From the senate, Cicero went directly into the forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Cassius: hither Pansa followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what Cicero contended for, was against the will and advice of Cassius’s nearest friends and relations—— of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Cassius.

M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS.

“ WITH what zeal I defended your dignity, both
“ in the senate and with the people, I would have
“ you learn rather from your other friends, than from
“ me. My opinion would easily have prevailed in
“ the senate, had not Pansa eagerly opposed it. Af-
“ ter I had proposed that vote, I was produced to the
“ people by Servilius, the tribune, and said every
“ thing which I could of you, with a strength of
“ voice, that filled the Forum; and with such a cla-
“ mour and approbation of the people, that I had
“ never seen the like before. You will pardon me,
“ I hope, for doing it against the will of your mother-
“ in-law. The timorous woman was afraid that Pan-
“ sa would be disgusted. Pansa indeed declared to
“ the assembly, that both your mother and brother

* Ibid. 12. &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.--C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ were against it ; but that did not move me, I had
“ other considerations more at heart : my regard was
“ to the republic, to which I have always wished well,
“ and to your dignity and glory. But there is one
“ thing which I enlarged upon in the senate, and
“ mentioned also to the people, in which I must de-
“ sire you to make my words good : for I promised,
“ and in a manner assured them, that you neither
“ had, nor would wait for our decrees ; but would
“ defend the republic yourself in your own way :
“ and though we had heard nothing, either where
“ you were, or what forces you had ; yet I took it
“ for granted, that all the forces in those parts were
“ yours ; and was confident, that you had already
“ recovered the provinces of Asia to the republic :
“ let it be your care to outdo yourself, in endeavour-
“ ing still to advance your own glory Adieu *.”

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us, that it ended as Cicero desired : but it is evident from the letter, just recited, and more clearly still from other letters, that Pansa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the consuls †. Cassius however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at Rome ; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to Dolabella's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

* Ep. fam. 12. 7.

† Quam consulibus decreta est Asia, & permissum est iis, ut dum ipsi venirent ; darent negotium qui ipsam obtineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the title of the *Guardian of the City*, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of, as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself: though neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The senate however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full house, on the eighteenth of March, “that the statue should be repaired, and restored to its place §.” So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the republic had been the constant object of his counsels.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to such straits in Modena, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the senate, and recommended by Pansa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to the decree of a second embassy, to be executed by himself and Servilius, to-

§ Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, Custos Urbis, quam turbo dejecerat, restitueretur. Ep. fam. 12. 25. Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

gether with three other consular senators : but finding upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time ; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Modena, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three legions. At the next meeting therefore of the senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious ; and in a warm and pathetic speech pressed them to rescind it. He owns, “ that it was indecent for one, whose
“ authority they had so often followed in the most
“ important debates, to declare himself mistaken and
“ deceived ; yet his comfort was, that it was in com-
“ mon with them all, and with a consul of the great-
“ est wisdom : that when Piso and Calenus, who
“ knew Antony’s secret, the one of whom entertain-
“ ed his wife and children at his house, the other
“ was perpetually sending and receiving letters from
“ him, began to renew, what they had long inter-
“ mitted, their exhortations to peace ; and when the
“ consul thought fit to exhort the same thing, a man,
“ whose prudence could not easily be imposed upon,
“ whose virtue approved no peace, but on Antony’s
“ submission ; whose greatness of mind preferred
“ death to slavery ; it was natural to imagine, that
“ there was some special reason for all this ; some

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ secret wound in Antony’s affairs, which the public was unacquainted with : especially when it was reported, that Antony’s family were under some unusual affliction, and his friends in the senate betrayed a dejection in their looks——for if there was nothing in it, why should Piso and Calenus, above all others ; why at that time ; why so unexpectedly, so suddenly move for peace ? yet now, when they had entangled the senate in a pacific embassy, they both denied that there was any thing new or particular, which induced them to it † : that there could be no occasion therefore for new measures, when there was nothing new in the case itself——that they were drawn in, and deceived by Antony’s friends, who were serving his private, not the public interest——that he had seen it from the first, though but darkly ; his concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes ; for whose liberty, if a substitute could be accepted, he would freely offer himself to be shut up in his place——that if Antony would humble himself, and sue to them for any thing, he should perhaps be for hearing him ; but while he stood to his arms, and acted offensively, their business was to resist force by force——but they would tell him perhaps, that the thing was not in their power, since an embassy was actually decreed. But what is it, says he, that is not free to the wise, which it is possible to retrieve ? it is the case of every man to err, but the part on-

† Phil. 12. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ ly of a fool to persevere in error——if we have
“ been drawn away by false and fallacious hopes, let
“ us turn again into the way ; for the surest harbour
“ to a penitent is a change of his conduct *. He
“ then shews, how the embassy, so far from being of
“ service would certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt
“ the republic ; by checking the zeal of the towns
“ and colonies of Italy ; and the courage of the le-
“ gions, which had declared for them, who could ne-
“ ver be eager to fight, while the senate was sound-
“ ing a retreat †.—That nothing was more unjust,
“ than to determine any thing about peace, without
“ the consent of those who were carrying on the war ;
“ and not only without, but against their consent :
“ that Hirtius and Cæsar had no thoughts of peace ;
“ from whom he had letters then in his hands, de-
“ claring their hopes of victory : for their desire was
“ to conquer, and to acquire peace, not by treaty,
“ but by victory §.—That there could not possibly
“ be any peace with one, to whom nothing could be
“ granted : they had voted him to have forged sever-
“ al decrees of the senate ; would they vote them
“ again to be genuine ? they had annulled his laws,
“ as made by violence ; would they now consent to
“ restore them ? they had decreed him to have em-
“ bezzled five millions of the public money ; could
“ such a waste be absolved from a charge of fraud ?
“ that immunities, priesthoods, and kingdoms, had
“ been sold by him ; could those bargains be con-

* Phil. 2.

† Ibid. 3.

§ Ibid. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A Hirtius.

“firmed, which their decrees had made void? §—
 “That if they should grant him the farther Gaul,
 “and an army, what would it be else, but to defer
 “the war, not to make peace? nay, not only to pro-
 “long the war, but to yield him the victory †.—
 “Was it for this, says he, that we have put on the
 “robe of war, taken arms, sent out all the youth of
 “Italy; that with a most flourishing and numerous
 “army we should send an embassy at last for peace?
 “and must I bear a part in that embassy, or assist
 “in that council, where, if I differ from the rest, the
 “people of Rome can never know it? so that what-
 “ever concessions are made to Antony, or whatever
 “mischief he may do hereafter, it must be at the ha-
 “zard of my credit.”——He then shews, “that if
 “an embassy must needs be sent, he, of all men, was
 “the most improper to be employed in it: that he
 “had ever been against any embassy; was the mov-
 “er of their taking the habit of war; was always for
 “the severest proceedings both against Antony and
 “his associates——that all that party looked upon
 “him as prejudiced; and Antony would be offended
 “at the sight of him ‡.—That if they did not trou-
 “ble themselves, how Antony might take it, he beg-
 “ged them at least to spare him the pain of seeing
 “Antony; which he should never be able to bear:
 “who in a speech lately to his parricides, when he
 “was distributing rewards to the boldest of them,
 “had promised Cicero’s estate to Petissius——that

§ Phil. 5.

† Ibid. 6.

‡ Ibid. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ he should never endure the sight of L. Antony :
“ whose cruelty he could not have escaped, but by
“ the defence of his walls and gates, and the zeal of
“ his native town : that though he might be able to
“ command himself, and dissemble his uneasiness at
“ the sight of Antony and his crew, yet some regard
“ should be had to his life ; not that he set any va-
“ lue upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought
“ despicable by the senate and people of Rome :
“ since, if he did not deceive himself, it was he who,
“ by his watchings, cares and votes, had managed
“ matters so, that all the attempts of their enemies
“ had not hitherto been able to do him any harm*.
“ —That if his life had been oft attempted at
“ home, where the fidelity of his friends, and the
“ eyes of all Rome were his guard ; what might he
“ not apprehend from so long a journey ? that there
“ were three roads from Rome to Modena ; the Fla-
“ minian, along the upper sea ; the Aurelian along
“ the lower ; the Cassian in the middle—that they
“ were all of them beset by Antony’s allies, his own
“ utter enemies : the Cassian by Lento ; the Flami-
“ nian by Ventidius : the Aurelian by the whole
“ Clodian family †.—That he would stay therefore
“ in the city, if the senate would give leave, which
“ was his proper seat, his watch and station : that
“ others might enjoy camps, kingdoms, military com-
“ mands ; he would take care of the city, and the
“ affairs at home, in partnership with them ; that he

* Ibid. 8.

† Ibid. 9

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ did not refuse the charge ; but it was the people,
“ who refused it for him : for no man was less timor-
“ ous, though none more cautious than he——that a
“ statesman ought to leave behind him a reputation
“ of glory in dying ; not the reproach of error and
“ folly : who, says he, does not bewail the death of
“ Trebonius? yet there are some who say, though it
“ is hard indeed to say it, that he is the less to be pi-
“ tied, for not keeping a better guard against a base
“ and detestable villain : for wise men tell us, that
“ he who professes to guard the lives of others, ought
“ in the first place to keep a guard upon his own ||.
“ —That if he should happen to escape all the snares
“ of the road, that Antony’s rage was so furious, that
“ he would never suffer him to return alive from the
“ congress——that when he was a young volunteer
“ in the wars of Italy, he was present at a conference
“ of Cn. Pompey the consul, and P. Vetius the gene-
“ ral of the Marsi, held between the two camps :
“ there was no fear, no suspicion, nor any violent hat-
“ red on either side——that there was an interview
“ likewise, between Sylla and Scipio, in their civil
“ wars, where though faith was not strictly observed,
“ yet no violence was offered †.—but the case was
“ different in treating with Antony, where, if others
“ could be safe, he at least could not : that Antony
“ would never come into their camp ; much less they
“ into his——that if they transacted affairs by letter,
“ his opinion would always be one and the same ; to

|| Phil. 10.

† Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ reduce every thing to the will of the senate : that
“ this would be misrepresented to the veterans, as severe and perverse ; and might excite them perhaps
“ to some violence——let my life, therefore, says he,
“ be reserved to the service of my country, as long
“ as either dignity or nature will allow : let my death
“ fall by the necessary course of fate ; or, if I must
“ meet it sooner, let me meet it with glory——Since
“ the republic then, to speak the most moderately,
“ has no occasion for this embassy ; yet, if I can
“ undertake it with safety, I will go ; and in this
“ whole affair will govern myself entirely, fathers,
“ not by a regard to my own danger, but to the
“ service of the state ; and, after the most mature
“ deliberation, will resolve to do that which I shall
“ judge to be most useful to the public interest.”—

Though he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt ; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and, without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

Antony, at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also, by his letters, to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause which they were now serving : but their answers seem to have been short and firm ; referring him constantly to the authority of the se-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

senate : yet, as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them ; and, in the following expostulatory letter, reproached them with great freedom for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped and drawn in by Cicero, to revive *the Pompeian cause*, and establish a power which, in the end, would destroy them.

ANTONIUS TO HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

“ Upon the news of Trebonius’s death, I was equally affected both with joy and with grief. It was matter of real joy to me, to see a villain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of the most illustrious of men ; and that within the circle of the current year, the divine Providence has displayed itself, by the punishment of parricide, inflicted already on some, and ready to fall on the rest. But, on the other hand, it is a subject of just grief to me, that Dolabella should be declared an enemy, because he has killed a murderer ; and that the son of a buffoon should be dearer to the people of Rome, than Cæsar, the father of his country : but the cruellest reflection of all is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar’s favours, and left by him in a condition which you yourself wonder at ; and you too, young man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing all which is in your power, that Dolabella may be thought justly condemned ; that

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ this wretch be delivered from the siege ; and Cas-
“ sius and Brutus be invested with all power. You
“ look upon the present state of things as people did
“ upon the past ; call Pompey’s camp the senate ;
“ have made the vanquished Cicero your captain ;
“ are strengthening Macedonia with armies ; have
“ given Africa to Varus, twice a prisoner ; have sent
“ Cassius into Syria ; suffered Casca to act as tri-
“ bune ; suppressed the revenues of the Julian Lu-
“ perci ; abolished the colonies of veterans, establish-
“ ed by law, and the decree of the senate ; promise
“ to restore to the people of Marseilles, what was
“ taken from them by right of war ; forget that a
“ Pompeian was made incapable of any dignity by
“ Hirtius’s law ; have supplied Brutus with Appu-
“ leius’s money ; applauded the putting to death
“ Poetus and Menedemus, Cæsar’s friends, whom he
“ made free of the city ; took no notice of Theo-
“ pompus, when, stript and banished by Trebonius,
“ he fled to Alexandria : you see Ser. Galba in your
“ camp, armed with the same poignard with which
“ he stabbed Cæsar ; have inlisted my soldiers, and
“ other veterans, on pretence of destroying those
“ who killed Cæsar ; and then employ them, before
“ they know what they are doing, against their
“ quæstor, or their general, or their comrades—what
“ have you not done, which Pompey himself, were
“ he alive, or his son, if he could, would not do ? in
“ short, you deny that any peace can be made, un-
“ less I set Brutus at liberty, or supply him with
“ provisions : can this please those veterans, who

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.--C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ have not yet declared themselves? for, as to your
“ part, you have sold yourselves to the flatteries and
“ poisoned honours of the senate. But you come,
“ you say, to preserve the troops which are besieged.
“ I am not against their being saved, or going where-
“ ever you please, if they will but leave him to perish
“ who has deserved it. You write me word, that
“ the mention of concord has been revived in the
“ senate, and five consular ambassadors appointed :
“ it is hard to believe, that those who have driven
“ me to this extremity, when I offered the fairest
“ conditions, and was willing to remit some part of
“ them, should do any thing with moderation or hu-
“ manity : nor is it probable, that the same men,
“ who voted Dolabella an enemy for a most laudable
“ act, can ever forgive me, who am in the same sen-
“ timents with him. Wherefore, it is your business
“ to reflect, which of the two is the more eligible,
“ or more useful to our common interest ; to revenge
“ the death of Trebonius, or of Cæsar : and which
“ the more equitable ; for us to act against each
“ other, that the Pompeian cause, so often defeated,
“ may recover itself ; or to join our forces, lest we
“ become at last the sport of our enemies ; who,
“ which of us soever may happen to fall, are sure to
“ be the gainers. But fortune has hitherto prevent-
“ ed that spectacle ; unwilling to see two armies,
“ like members of the same body, fighting against
“ each other ; and Cicero all the while, like a master
“ of gladiators, matching us, and ordering the com-
“ bat : who is so far happy, as to have caught you

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. COS.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

“ with the same bait, with which he brags to have
“ caught Cæsar. For my part, I am resolved to
“ suffer no affront, either to myself, or my friends ;
“ nor to desert the party which Pompey hated ; nor
“ to see the veterans driven out of their possessions,
“ and dragged one by one to the rack ; nor to break
“ my word with Dolabella ; nor to violate my league
“ with Lepidus, a most religious man ; nor to betray
“ Plancus, the partner of all my councils. If the
“ immortal Gods support me, as I hope they will, in
“ the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live with
“ pleasure ; but if any other fate expects me, I taste a
“ joy however before-hand, in the sure foresight of your
“ punishment : for if the Pompeians are so insolent
“ when conquered, how much more they will be so
“ when conquerors, it will be your lot to feel. In a
“ word, this is the sum of my resolution : I can for-
“ give the injuries of my friends, if they themselves
“ are disposed, either to forget them, or prepared, in
“ conjunction with me, to revenge the death of Cæ-
“ sar : I cannot believe that any ambassadors will
“ come ; when they do, I shall know what they have
“ to demand*.” Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of an-
swering this letter, sent it directly to Cicero at Rome,
to make what use of it he thought fit with the se-
nate or the people.

In this interval Lepidus wrote a public letter to
the senate, to exhort them to measures of peace, and
to save the effusion of civil blood, by contriving some

* Vid. Phil. 13. 10. &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the service of their country ; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the public honours which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the republic, and good understanding with Antony. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed by Servilius, “ that
“ Lepidus should be thanked for his love of peace,
“ and care of the citizens, yet should be desired not
“ to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave
“ that affair to them ; who thought that there could
“ be no peace, unless Antony should lay down his
“ arms, and sue for it.” This letter gave Antony’s friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in his power, they said, to force them to it : which put Cicero once more to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, “ that he was ever afraid from the first, lest an in-
“ sidious offer of peace should damp the common
“ zeal, for the recovery of their liberty : that who-
“ ever delighted in discord, and the blood of citizens,
“ ought to be expelled from the society of human
“ kind : yet it was to be considered, whether there
“ were not some wars wholly inexpiable ; where no
“ peace could be made, and where a treaty of peace
“ was but a stipulation of slavery * : that the war
“ now on foot was of this sort ; undertaken against

* Phil. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ a set of men who were natural enemies to society ;
“ whose only pleasure it was to oppress, plunder, and
“ murder their fellow-creatures ; and to restore such
“ to the city, was to destroy the city itself*.—
“ That they ought to remember what decrees they
“ had already made against them ; such as had never
“ been made against a foreign enemy, or any with
“ whom there could be no peace——that since wis-
“ dom, as well as fortitude, was expected from men
“ of their rank, though these indeed could hardly
“ be separated, yet he was willing to consider them
“ separately, and follow what wisdom the more cau-
“ tious and guarded of the two prescribed.—If
“ wisdom, then,” says he, “ should command me to
“ hold nothing so dear as life ; to decree nothing at
“ the hazard of my head ; to avoid all danger, tho’
“ slavery was sure to be the consequence ; I would
“ reject that wisdom, be it ever so learned : but if
“ it teaches us to preserve our lives, our fortunes,
“ our families, yet so, as to think them inferior to
“ liberty ; to wish to enjoy them no longer than we
“ can do it in a free republic ; not to part with our
“ liberty for them, but to throw them all away for
“ liberty, as exposing us only to greater mischief
“ without it ; I would then listen to her voice, and
“ obey her as a god†. That no man had a greater
“ respect for Lepidus than himself ; and though there
“ had been an old friendship between them, yet he
“ valued him, not so much for that, as his services to

* Phil. 2.

† Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ the public, in prevailing with young Pompey to
“ lay down his arms, and free his country from the
“ misery of a cruel war: that the republic had many
“ pledges of fidelity from Lepidus; his great nobili-
“ ty; great honours; high priesthood; many parts
“ of the city adorned by him and his ancestors; his
“ wife, children, great fortunes, pure from any taint
“ of civil blood; no citizen ever hurt, many preserv-
“ ed by him: that such a man might err in judg-
“ ment, but could never wilfully be an enemy to his
“ country.—That his desire of peace was laudable,
“ if he could make such for them now, as when he
“ restored Pompey to them.—That for this they had
“ decreed him greater honours than had been given
“ before to any man, a statue with a splendid inscrip-
“ tion, and a triumph even in absence*.—That, by
“ good fortune, they had managed matters so, that
“ Pompey’s return might consist with the validity of
“ Cæsar’s acts, which, for the sake of peace, they had
“ confirmed; since they had decreed to Pompey the
“ five millions and a half, which were raised by the
“ sale of his estates, to enable him to buy them a-
“ gain: he desired, that the task of replacing him
“ in the possessions of his ancestors, might be com-
“ mitted to him for his old friendship with his father:
“ that it should be his first care to nominate him an
“ augur, and repay the same favour to the son,
“ which he himself received from the father†: that
“ those who had seen him lately at Marseilles, brought

* Phil. 4.

† Ibid. 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ word, that he was ready to come with his troops
“ to the relief of Modena, but that he was afraid of
“ giving offence to the veterans: which shewed him
“ to be the true son of that father, who used to act
“ with as much prudence as courage.—That it
“ was Lepidus’s business to take care, not to be
“ thought to act with more arrogance than became
“ him: that if he meant to frighten them with his
“ army, he should remember, that it was the army
“ of the senate and people of Rome, not his own*.
“ —That if he interposed his authority without
“ arms, that was indeed the more laudable, but would
“ hardly be thought necessary.—For, though his
“ authority was as great with them as that of the
“ noblest citizen ought to be, yet the senate was not
“ unmindful of their own dignity; and there never
“ was a graver, firmer, stouter senate, than the pre-
“ sent.—That they were all so incensed against
“ the enemies of their liberty, that no man’s autho-
“ rity could repress their ardour, or extort their arms
“ from them.—That they hoped the best, but
“ would rather suffer the worst, than live slaves†.
“ —That there was no danger to be apprehended
“ from Lepidus, since he could not enjoy the splen-
“ dour of his own fortunes, but with the safety of all
“ honest men.—That nature first makes men ho-
“ nest, but fortune confirms them: for, though it
“ was the common interest of all to promote the safe-
“ ty of the public, yet it was more particularly of

* Phil. 6.

† Ibid. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ those who were happy in their fortunes.—That
“ nobody was more so than Lepidus, and nobody
“ therefore better disposed: of which the people saw
“ a remarkable instance, in the concern which he
“ expressed, when Antony offered a diadem to Cæsar,
“ and chose to be his slave, rather than his colleague:
“ for which single act, if he had been guilty of no-
“ thing else, he had richly deserved the worst pu-
“ nishment*.”——Then, after inveighing, as usual,
against Antony through several pages, he declared
all thoughts of peace with him to be vain, and, for
a fresh proof of it, produced his last letter to Hirtius
and Octavius, and read it publicly to the assembly:
“ not that he thought it worth reading,” he says, “ but
“ to let them see his traitorous views openly avowed
“ and confessed by himself.” He read it to them pa-
ragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and
remarks upon it; rallying all along, with great wit
and spirit, “ the rage, the extravagance, the incon-
“ sistency, the folly, and the inaccuracy of each sen-
“ tence.” On the whole, he says, “ that if Lepidus
“ had seen it, he would neither have advised, or
“ thought any peace with him possible.—That fire
“ and water would sooner unite, than the Antonys
“ be reconciled to the republic.—That the first and
“ best thing therefore was, to conquer; the second,
“ to decline no danger for the liberty of their coun-
“ try; that there was no third thing, but the last
“ and worst of all, to submit to the utmost baseness,

* Phil. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ through a desire of living.—For which reasons, he
“ declared his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote
“ upon Lepidus’s letters; and proposed an additional
“ decree, either to be joined to the other, or published separately.—That Pompey the Great, the
“ son of Cnæus, in offering his service and his troops
“ to the senate and people of Rome, had acted agreeably to the courage and zeal of his father and
“ ancestors; and to his own virtue, industry, and
“ good disposition to the republic: and that the thing
“ was grateful and acceptable to the senate and
“ people, and would hereafter be an honour to himself.”

After the debate, which ended as Cicero wished, he sent the following short letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it was drawn, seems to be designed to let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at Rome, whatever measures he might think fit to take.

CICERO to LEPIDUS.

“ While, out of the great respect which I bear to
“ you, I am making it my particular care, to advance
“ your dignity as much as possible, it was a concern
“ to me to see that you did not think it worth while
“ to return your thanks to the senate, for the extraordinary honours which they have lately conferred
“ upon you. I rejoice, however, that you are so desirous of making peace among citizens: if you can

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

“ separate that peace from slavery, you will consult
 “ both the good of the republic, and your own dig-
 “ nity : but if the effect of it be, to restore a despe-
 “ rate man to an arbitrary dominion, I would have
 “ you to know, that all men of sense have taken a
 “ resolution, to prefer death to servitude. You will
 “ act more wisely, therefore, in my judgment, if you
 “ meddle no farther with that affair of peace : which
 “ is not agreeable either to the senate, or the people,
 “ or to any honest man : but you will hear enough
 “ of this from others, or be informed of it by letters ;
 “ and will be directed by your own prudence, what
 “ is the best for you to do *.”

Plancus, too, who commanded in Gaul, and now resided near Lyons, at the head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus’s advice, by a letter likewise to the senate on the same subject of peace ; to which Cicero wrote the following answer :

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THE account which our friend Furnius brought
 “ of your affection to the republic, was highly agree-
 “ able both to the senate and people of Rome : but
 “ your letter, when read in the senate, did not seem
 “ to agree with Furnius’s report : for you advised us
 “ to peace, when your colleague, a man of the great-
 “ est eminence, was besieged by most infamous plun-

* Ep. fam. x. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ derers ; who ought either to sue for peace, by lay-
 “ ing down their arms, or, if they demand it with
 “ sword in hand, it must be procured by victory, not
 “ treaty. But in what manner your letters, as well
 “ as Lepidus’s also, were received, you will under-
 “ stand from that excellent man your brother, and
 “ from Furnius,” &c. *.

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated with seven cohorts to Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus’s arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Buthrotum, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote : but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus’s army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action ; and in a second engagement with another body of troops, which young Cicero commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner : which made Brutus absolute master of the country, without any farther opposition †. This fresh success gave occasion for a second letter from Brutus to the senate ; of which Cicero makes the following mention ; “ Your letter,” says he, “ which was read in the se-
 “ nate, shews the counsel of the general, the virtue
 “ of your soldiers, the industry of your officers, and
 “ in particular of my Cicero. If your friends had
 “ been willing to move the senate upon it ; and if it
 “ had not fallen into most turbulent times, since the
 “ departure of Pansa, some just and proper honour
 “ would have been decreed for it to the Gods ‡.

* Ep. fam. 6.

† Plutar. in Brut.

‡ Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ sunt, & Imperatoris

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him: if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the republic: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid lest some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero therefore upon it by letter——“C. Antony,” says he, “is still with me: but
“in truth, I am moved with the prayers of the man;
“and afraid lest the madness of some should make
“him the occasion of mischief to me. I am wholly
“at a loss what to do with him. If I knew your
“mind, I should be at ease; for I should think that
“the best which you advised*.”——Cicero’s advice was, to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus in Modena §. Brutus however treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he

consilium & militum virtutem, & industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his literis referri, & nisi in tempus turbulentissimum post discessum Pansæ incidissent, honos quoque justus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus esset. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

* Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine solitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

§ Quod me de Antonio consulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognovimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

not only wrote to the senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the stile of proconsul; which surprised and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms.

“ On the thirteenth of April,” says he, “ your messenger Pilus brought us two letters, the one in your name, the other in Antony’s; and gave them to Servilius the tribune; he to Cornutus the prætor. They were read in the senate. Antony *Proconsul*, raised as much wonder as if it had been, Dolabella *Emperor*; from whom also there came an express; but no body, like your Pilus, was so hardy as to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magistrates. Your letter was read; short indeed, but extremely mild towards Antony: the senate was amazed at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—What if you should own it? Should I admit it to be genuine? that was not for your honour. I chose therefore to be silent that day. On the next, when the affair had made some noise, and Pilus’s carriage had given offence, I began the debate, said much of *Proconsul* Antony; Sextius performed his part, and observed to me afterwards in private, what danger his son and mine would be liable to, if they had really taken up arms against a proconsul. You know the man; he did justice to the cause. Others also spoke; but our friend Labeo took notice, that your seal was not put to the letter; nor any date

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“ added ; nor had you written about it, as usual, to
“ your friends ; from which he maintained the letter
“ to be forged ; and in short, convinced the house of
“ it. It is now your part, Brutus, to consider the
“ whole state and nature of the war : you are delight-
“ ed, I perceive, with lenity ; and think it the best
“ way of proceeding : this indeed is generally right ;
“ but the proper place of clemency is, in cases and
“ seasons very different from the present : for what
“ are we doing now, Brutus ? we see a needy and de-
“ sperate crew threatening the very temples of the
“ Gods ; and that the war must necessarily decide,
“ whether we are to live or not. Who is it, then,
“ whom we are sparing ? or what is it, that we mean ?
“ are we consulting the safety of those who, if they
“ get the better, are sure not to leave the least re-
“ mains of us ? For what difference is there between
“ Dolabella and any one of the three Antonys ? If
“ we spare any of these, we have been too severe to
“ Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to my advice and
“ authority, that the senate and people are in this
“ way of thinking, though the thing itself indeed al-
“ so obliged them to it : if you do not approve this
“ policy, I shall defend your opinion, but cannot de-
“ part from my own : the world expects from you
“ nothing either remiss or cruel : it is easy to mode-
“ rate the matter, by severity to the leaders, genero-
“ sity to the soldiers †.”

Cicero had now done every thing, that human

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

prudence could do towards the recovery of the republic : for all that vigour, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was entirely owing to his counsels and authority. As Antony was the most immediate and desperate enemy who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of Italy, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty ; but, from the contrast of their personal interests, and their jealousy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other ; yet so, as to provide at the same time against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the consuls ; whom, from being the late ministers of Cæsar's tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the commanders of the several provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæsar, the proper creatures of his power, and the abettors of his tyranny § ; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerful pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not easily be persuaded to submit to a senate, which

§ Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis : vides ejusdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A Hirtius.

they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependance on the civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them by letters, and inviting them by honours, to prefer the glory of saving their country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus : who, by the strength of their armies, and their possession of Gaul and Spain, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first ; yet managed them so well, by representing the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the senate, of the consuls, and all Italy, that he forced them at least to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty ; and above all to stand neuter till the affairs of Italy were decided ; on which the fate of the republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus entirely into his measures : as appears from his account of him to Brutus *, and from Plancus's own letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena ; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat.—Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following letter.

* Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex literis ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perpicere potuisti. Ad. Brut. 2. 2.

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CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THOUGH I understood, from the account of our
“ friend Furnius, what your design and resolution
“ was, with regard to the republic ; yet, after reading
“ your letters, I was able to form a clearer judgment
“ of your whole purpose. Wherefore, though the
“ fate of the commonwealth depends wholly on one
“ battle, which will be decided, I believe, when you
“ are reading this letter, yet you have acquired great
“ applause, by the very fame, which was every where
“ spread, of your good intentions : and if there had
“ been a consul at Rome, the senate, by decreeing
“ some considerable honour to you, would have de-
“ clared, how acceptable your endeavours and pre-
“ parations were. But that time is not only not yet
“ past, but was not in my judgment even ripe : for
“ after all, that alone passes with me for honour,
“ which is conferred on great men, not for the hopes
“ of future, but the experience of past services. If
“ then there be any republic, in which honour can
“ have it’s proper lustre, take my word for it, you
“ shall have your share of the greatest : though that,
“ which can truly be called honour, is not an invita-
“ tion to a temporary, but the reward of an habitual
“ virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plancus, turn your
“ whole thoughts towards glory : help your country ;
“ fly to the relief of your colleague ; support this
“ wonderful consent and concurrence of all na-
“ tions : you will ever find me the promoter of your

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“ counsels, the favourer of your dignity, and on all
“ occasions most friendly and faithful to you : for
“ to all the other motives of our union, our mutual
“ affection, good offices, old acquaintance ; the love
“ of our country, which is now added, makes me pre-
“ fer your life to my own. Mar. 29th *.”

Plancus, in the mean time, sent a second letter to the senate, to assure them of his zeal and resolution to adhere to them ; and to acquaint them with the steps which he had already taken for their service : upon which they decreed him some extraordinary honours, at the motion of Cicero, who sent him the following account of it :

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ Though out of regard to the republic, my great-
“ est joy ought to be, for your bringing such relief
“ and help to it, in a time almost of extremity ; yet
“ may I so embrace you after victory and the reco-
“ very of our liberty, as it is your dignity that gives
“ me the chief part of my pleasure ; which already
“ is, and ever will be, I perceive, as great as possi-
“ ble. For I would not have you think, that any
“ letters were ever read in the senate of greater
“ weight than yours ; both for the eminent merit of
“ your services, and the gravity of your words and
“ sentiments : which was not at all new to me, who
“ was so well acquainted with you, and remembered

* Ep-fam. x. 10.

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“ the promises of your letters to me ; and understood
“ the whole purpose of your counsels from our Fur-
“ nius : but they appeared greater to the senate
“ than was expected ; not that they ever had any
“ doubt of your inclinations ; but did not fully un-
“ derstand how much you were able to do, or how
“ far you would expose yourself in the cause. When
“ M. Varisidius therefore brought me your letters very
“ early, on the seventh of April, I was transported
“ with joy upon reading them ; and, as a great mul-
“ titude of excellent citizens were then waiting to
“ attend my going abroad, I instantly gave them all
“ a part of my pleasure. In the mean while, our
“ friend Munatius, according to custom, came to join
“ me : I presently shewed him your letter, of which
“ he knew nothing before ; for Varisidius came first
“ to me, as you, he said, had ordered him : soon after,
“ the same Munatius returned to me with the other
“ two letters ; that, which you had sent to him, and
“ that, to the senate : we resolved to carry the last
“ directly to the prætor Cornutus ; who, by the cus-
“ tom of our ancestors, supplies the place of the con-
“ suls in their absence. The senate was immediate-
“ ly called ; and, upon the fame and expectation of
“ your letters, made up a full house. After they
“ were read, a scruple of religion was objected to
“ Cornutus, from the report of the Guardians of the
“ Chickens ; that he had not duly consulted the
“ auspices ; which was confirmed likewise by our
“ college : so that the affair was adjourned to the
“ next day. On that day, I had a great contest about

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“ your dignity with Servilius, who procured, by his
“ interest, to have his opinion declared the first : but
“ the senate left him, and all went the contrary way :
“ but when they were coming into my opinion,
“ which was delivered the second ; the tribune Ti-
“ tius, at his request, interposed his negative ; and
“ so the debate was put off again to the day follow-
“ ing. Servilius came prepared to support his oppo-
“ sition, though against Jupiter himself, in whose
“ temple the thing had passed : in what manner I
“ handled him, and what a struggle I had to throw
“ off Titius’s negative, I would have you learn rather
“ from other people’s letters ; take this however from
“ mine, that the senate could not possibly act with
“ more gravity, firmness, and regard to your honour,
“ than it did on this occasion ; nor is the senate more
“ friendly to you, than the whole city : for the body
“ of the people, and all ranks and orders of men, are
“ wonderfully united in the defence of the republic.
“ Go on, therefore, as you have begun, and recom-
“ mend your name to immortality : and for all these
“ things, which, from the vain badges of outward
“ splendour, carry a shew of glory, despise them ;
“ look upon them as trifling, transitory, perishing.
“ True honour is placed singly in virtue ; which is
“ illustrated with most advantage by great services
“ to our country. You have the best opportunity
“ for this in the world ; which, since you have em-
“ braced, persevere, and go through with it ; that
“ the republic may not owe less to you, than you to
“ the republic : you will find me, not only the fa-

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“vourer, but the advancer of your dignity: this I
“take myself to owe, both to the republic, which is
“dearer to me than my life, and to our friendship,
“&c. April the eleventh *.”

Plancus answered him not long after to the following effect:

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“It is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I have never
“promised any thing rashly of myself to you ;
“nor you for me, to others. In this you have the
“clearer proof of my love, that I desire to make you
“acquainted with my designs before any man else.
“You already see, I hope, that my services to the
“public will grow greater every day: I promise, that
“you shall soon be convinced of it. As for me, my
“dear Cicero, may the republic be so delivered by
“my help from its present dangers, as I esteem your
“honours and rewards equal to an immortality ; yet
“were I still without them, I would remit nothing of
“my present zeal and perseverance. If, in the multitude
“of excellent citizens, I do not distinguish
“myself by a singular vigour and industry, I desire
“no accession to my dignity from your favour : but
“in truth, I desire nothing at all for myself at present ; nay, am even against it ; and willingly make
“you the arbiter both of the time and the thing
“itself: a citizen can think nothing late or little,

* Ep. fam. x. 12.

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“ which is given by his country. I passed the Rhone
“ with my army by great journies, on the 26th of
“ April; sent a thousand horse before me by a short-
“ er way from Vienna. As for myself, if I am not
“ hindered by Lepidus, none shall complain of my
“ want of expedition: if he opposes me on the road,
“ I shall take my measures from the occasion: the
“ troops which I bring, are, for number, kind, and
“ fidelity, extremely firm. I beg the continuance of
“ your affection, as long as you find yourself assured
“ of mine. Adieu*.”

Pollio likewise, who now commanded the farther Spain, with three good legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero, of his resolution to defend the republic against all invaders. In one of his letters, after excusing himself for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, “ both my nature and studies
“ draw me to the desire of peace and liberty: for
“ which reason, I always lamented the occasion of the
“ late war: but, as it was not possible for me to be
“ of no party, because I had great enemies every
“ where, I ran from that camp, where I could not
“ be safe from the treachery of an enemy; and, being
“ driven whither I least desired, freely exposed
“ myself to dangers, that I might not make a contemptible figure among those of my rank. As for
“ Cæsar himself, I loved him with the utmost piety
“ and fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of

* Ep. fam. x. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ his oldest friends, though known to him only in
“ the height of his fortunes. When I was at liber-
“ ty to act after my own mind, I acted so, that the
“ best men should most applaud me : what I was
“ commanded to do, I did so, as to shew, that it was
“ done by command, and not by inclination. The
“ unjust odium, which I suffered on that account,
“ has sufficiently convinced me how sweet a thing
“ liberty is, and how wretched life is under the do-
“ minion of another. If the contest, then, be, to
“ bring us all again under the power of one, who-
“ ever that one be, I profess myself his enemy : nor
“ is there any danger which I would decline, or wish
“ to avoid, for the sake of liberty. But the consuls
“ have not, either by decree or letters, given me any
“ orders what to do : I have had but one letter from
“ Pansa, since the Ides of March ; in which he ex-
“ horts me to signify to the senate, that I and my
“ army would be in their power : but, when Lepi-
“ dus was declaring openly to his army, and writing
“ to every body, that he was in the same sentiments
“ with Antony, that step would have been whol-
“ ly absurd and improper for me : for, how could
“ I get forage for my troops, against his will, in
“ marching through his province ? or, if I had sur-
“ mounted all other difficulties, could I fly over the
“ Alps, which were possessed by his garrisons ?—No
“ body will deny, that I declared publicly to my
“ soldiers, at Corduba, that I would not deliver the
“ province to any man, unless he were commission-
“ ed by the senate—wherefore, you are to look upon

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“ me, as one who, in the first place, am extremely
 “ desirous of peace, and the safety of all the citizens ;
 “ in the second, prepared to assert my own and my
 “ country’s liberty. I am more pleased than you
 “ can imagine, that my friend Gallus is so dear to
 “ you : I envy him for walking and joking with you :
 “ you will ask, perhaps, at what rate I value that
 “ privilege : you shall know by experience, if ever it
 “ be in our power to live in quiet ; for I will never
 “ stir one step from you. I am surprised, that you
 “ never signified in your letters, how I should be
 “ able to do the most service, by staying in the pro-
 “ vince, or bringing my army into Italy. For my
 “ part, though to stay be more safe and less trou-
 “ blesome ; yet, since I see, that, in such a time
 “ as this, there is more want of legions, than of pro-
 “ vinces, which may easily be recovered, I am re-
 “ solved, as things now stand, to come away with my
 “ army.—From Corduba, the fifteenth of March.*”

There are several letters also still extant, written at this time from Cicero to Cornificius, who governed Afric ; exhorting him in the same manner to firmness in the defence of the republic, and to guard his province from all invaders who should attempt to extort it from him : and this man, after all, was the only commander who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his country ; and lost his life at last in maintaining that province in its allegiance to the republic †.

* Ep. fam. x. 31.

† Vid. Ep. fam. 12. 24. &c. App. l. 4. 612. Dio. l. 48. 397.

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P. Servilius, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the senate, was a person of great rank and nobility ; had been consul with J. Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war ; the son of that Servilius, who, by his conquest near mount Taurus, obtained the surname of Isauricus. He affected the character of a patriot, but, having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party ; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs ; in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed : Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service ; till, provoked by his late opposition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unusual severity and resentment ; of which he gives an account in a letter to Brutus.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ From Plancus's letters, of which a copy, I imagine, has been sent to you, you will perceive his excellent disposition towards the republic, with the condition of his legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your own people have informed you, I guess, by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend Lepidus ; who, next to his own brother, hates you, his near relations, the most. We are anxious with an expectation which is now reduced to the last crisis : all

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“ all our hopes are fixed on the delivery of D. Brutus; for whom we have been in great apprehension. For my part, I have business enough on my hands at home with the madman Servilius, whom I have endured longer than became my dignity; but I did it for the sake of the republic, lest I should give the disaffected a leader, not well affected indeed himself, yet noble to resort to, which nevertheless they still do. But I was not for alienating him wholly from the republic: I have now put an end to my forbearance of him; for he began to be so insolent, that he looked upon no man as free. But, in Plancus’s debate, he was strangely mortified; and, after two days contest, was so roughly handled by me, that he will be the modester, I dare say, for the future. In the midst of our contention, on the ninth of April, I had letters delivered to me in the senate from our friend Lentulus, in Asia, with an account of Cassius, the legions, and Asia; which when I read presently in public, Servilius sunk, and many more besides; for there are some of eminent rank, who think most wickedly; but Servilius was most sensibly chagrined for the senate’s agreeing to my motion about Plancus. The part which he acts is monstrous*.”

The news, which is mentioned in this letter to have been sent by Lentulus, of Cassius’s success, was soon after confirmed by particular letters to Cicero from

* Ad Brut. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

Brutus and Cassius themselves; signifying, “that
“Cassius had possessed himself of Syria before Do-
“labella arrived there; that the generals L. Murcus
“and Q. Crispus, had given up their armies to him:
“that a separate legion, under Cæcilius Bassus, had
“submitted to him against the will of their leader:
“that four other legions, sent by Cleopatra from
“Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella, under his
“lieutenant Allienus, had all declared for him:”
and, lest the first letter should miscarry, as they of-
ten did from such a distance, by passing through the
enemy’s quarters, Cassius sent him a second, with a
more full and distinct account of all particulars.

CASSIUS, Proconsul, to his friend M. CICERO.

“If you are in health, it is a pleasure to me; I
“am also very well. I have read your letter, in
“which I perceived your wonderful affection for me;
“for you not only wish me well, which indeed you
“have always done, both for my own sake and the
“republic’s, but entertain an uncommon concern
“and solicitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined,
“in the first place, that you would think it impos-
“sible for me to sit still and see the republic op-
“pressed; and, in the second, that, whenever you
“supposed me to be in action, you would be solici-
“tous about my safety and success; so, as soon as I
“was master of the legions which Allienus brought
“from Egypt, I immediately wrote to you, and sent
“several expresses to Rome: I wrote letters also to

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ the senate, but forbade the delivery of them, till
“ they had been first shewn to you. If these letters
“ have not reached you, I make no doubt but that
“ Dolabella, who, by the wicked murder of Trebo-
“ nius, is master of Asia, has seized my messengers,
“ and intercepted them. I have all the armies which
“ were in Syria under my command; and having
“ been forced to sit still a while, till I had discharged
“ my promises to them, am now ready to take the
“ field. I beg of you to take my honour and inte-
“ rests under your special care: for you know that I
“ have never refused any danger or labour for the
“ service of my country: that by your advice and
“ authority I took arms against these infamous rob-
“ bers: that I have not only raised armies for the
“ defence of the republic and our liberty, but have
“ snatched them from the hands of the most cruel
“ tyrants: which, if Dolabella had seized before me,
“ he would have given fresh spirit to Antony’s causé;
“ not only by the approach, but by the very fame
“ and expectation of his troops: for which reasons,
“ take my soldiers, I beseech you, under your pro-
“ tection, if you think them to have deserved well
“ of the state: and let none of them have reason to
“ repent that they have preferred the cause of the
“ republic to the hopes of plunder and rapine. Take
“ care also, as far as it is in your power, that due
“ honour be paid to the emperors Murcus and Cris-
“ pus: for Bassus was miserably unwilling to deliver
“ up his legion; and if his soldiers had not sent a
“ deputation to me in spite of him, would have held

A: Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

“ out Apamea against me, till it could be taken by
“ force. I beg this of you, not only for the sake of
“ the republic, which of all things was ever the
“ dearest to you, but of our friendship also, which I
“ am confident has a great weight with you. Take
“ my word for it, the army which I have is the se-
“ nate's, and every honest man's, and above all,
“ your's: for, by hearing perpetually of your good
“ disposition, they have conceived a wonderful affec-
“ tion for you; and, when they come to understand
“ that you make their interests your special care,
“ they will think themselves indebted to you for
“ every thing. Since I wrote this, I have heard that
“ Dolabella is come into Cilicia with all his forces:
“ I will follow him thither; and take care that you
“ shall soon be informed of what I have done. I
“ wish only that my success may be answerable to
“ my good intentions. Continue the care of your
“ health, and your love to me*.”

Brutus, who had sent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and sister Tertia, charged the latter not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not †. He was afraid, lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the Cæsarean party; and raise a jealousy in the leaders, who were acting against Antony, that the republican interest would

* Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

† Ego scripsi ad Tertiam sororem et matrem, ne prius ede-
rent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam tuum
consilium cognovissent. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

grow too strong for them. But Cicero sent him word, that the news was already known at Rome, before his letters arrived; and though there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet, on the whole, they thought it more adviseable to publish than to suppress it ‡.

Thus Cicero, as he declared to the senate, by his letters, expresses, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the empire, to the common defence of their liberty*; and, for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading false reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or, what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the consuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror through the city, that all honest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius †. Cicero, however, was not disheartened at it, but, in the general consternation, appeared chearful and easy; and, as he sends word to Brutus, had a perfect confidence in the consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them, and, from the number and firmness of their troops,

‡ Video te veritum esse, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæsaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat et pervulgata—ib. 6.

* Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriæ præsidium excitatos. Phil. 14. 7.

† Triduo vero aut quatruiduo—timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus et liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony†. But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days with great industry, that he had formed a design to make himself master of the city, and declare himself dictator; and would appear publicly with the fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed him; but when Appuleius, the tribune, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, they all cried out with one voice, that Cicero had never done, nor designed to do any thing, but what was the best and most beneficial to the republic*; this gave him some comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over Antony at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's speech †.

The siege of Modena, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigour both of the attack and the de-

† *Tristes enim de Bruto nostro litteræ, nuncique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitiis, ducibusque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque assentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam et celeritatem. Ad. Brut. 2. 1.*

* *Itaque P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare suspicione fascium vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil esse a me unquam de Republica nisi optime cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.*

† *Post hanc concionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii et litteræ venerunt—ibid.*

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fence. Antony had invested it so closely, and posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it: and Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion; “how Hirtius provided men skilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to pass into the town under the river, which runs through it; till Antony obstructed that passage, by nets and traps placed under water: which gave occasion to another contrivance, of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons ‡.”

Pansa was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four legions of new levies, which he brought from Rome; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprise him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA TO CICERO.

“On the fifteenth of April, the day on which Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp, (in whose

‡ Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. N. l. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ company I was, for I went a hundred miles to meet
“ him, on purpose to hasten his march) Antony drew
“ out two of his legions, the second and thirty-fifth;
“ and two prætorian cohorts; the one his own, the
“ other Silanus’s, with part of the *Evocati**; and
“ came forward toward us, imagining that we had
“ nothing but four legions of new levies. But in
“ the night, to secure our march to the camp, Hir-
“ tius had sent us the Martial legion, which I used
“ to command, and two prætorian cohorts. As soon
“ as Antony’s horse appeared in sight, neither the
“ Martial legion nor the prætorian cohorts could be
“ restrained from attacking them; so that when we
“ could not hold them in, we were obliged to follow
“ them against our wills. Antony kept his forces
“ within Castel-Franco†; and, being unwilling to
“ have it known that he had his legions with him,
“ shewed only his horse and light-armed foot. When
“ Pansa saw the Martial legion running forward a-
“ gainst his orders, he commanded two of the new
“ raised legions to follow him. As soon as we got
“ through the straits of the morass and the woods,
“ we drew up the twelve cohorts in order of battle.
“ The other two legions were not yet come up. An-

* The *Evocati* were a choice body of veteran soldiers, who, after their dismissal from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, by the consul or general, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

† Ad Forum Gallorum: now called *Castel-Franco*, a small village on the Æmilian way between Modena and Bologna. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 28.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ tony immediately brought all his troops out of the
“ village, ranged likewise in order of battle, and
“ without delay engaged us. At first they fought
“ so briskly on both sides, that nothing could possi-
“ bly be fiercer : though the right wing, in which I
“ was, with eight cohorts of the Martial legion, put
“ Antony’s thirty-fifth legion to flight at the first
“ onset, and pursued it above five hundred paces
“ from the place where the action began : where-
“ fore, observing the enemy’s horse attempting to
“ surround our wing, I began to retreat, and order-
“ ed the light-armed troops to make head against
“ the Moorish horse, and prevent their coming upon
“ us behind. In the mean while, I perceived myself
“ in the midst of Antony’s men, and Antony himself
“ but a little way behind me : upon which, with my
“ shield thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on my
“ horse with all speed towards the new legion that
“ was coming towards us from the camp : and whilst
“ Antony’s men were pursuing me, and ours by mis-
“ take throwing javelins at me, I was preserved, I
“ know not how, by being presently known to our
“ soldiers. Cæsar’s prætorian cohort sustained the
“ fight a long time on the Æmilian road : but our
“ left wing, which was the weaker, consisting of two
“ cohorts of the martial legion, and the prætorian of
“ Hirtius, began to give ground, being surrounded
“ by Antony’s horse, in which he is very strong.
“ When all ranks had made good their retreat, I re-
“ treated myself the last to our camp. Antony, as
“ the conqueror, fancied that he could take it ; but,

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“ upon trial, lost many of his men in the attempt,
“ without being able to do us any hurt. Hirtius, in
“ the mean time, hearing of the engagement, march-
“ ed out with twenty veteran cohorts, and, meeting
“ Antony on his return, entirely routed and put to
“ flight his whole army, in the very same place where
“ they had fought before at Castel-Franco. About
“ ten at night Antony regained his camp at Modena,
“ with all his horse. Hirtius retired to that camp
“ which Pansa had quitted in the morning, and where
“ he left the two legions which Antony attacked.
“ Thus Antony has lost the greater part of his vete-
“ ran troops, yet not without some loss of our præto-
“ rian cohorts, and the Martial legion : we took two
“ of Antony’s eagles, and sixty standards ; and have
“ gained a considerable advantage *.”

Besides this letter from Galba, there came letters also severally from the two consuls and Octavius ; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther particulars : “ that Pansa, fighting brave-
“ ly at the head of his troops, had received two dan-
“ gerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bo-
“ logna : that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man :
“ and that, to animate his soldiers the better, he took
“ up the eagle of the fourth legion, and carried it
“ forward himself : that Cæsar was left to the guard
“ of their camp ; where he was attacked likewise by
“ another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with

* Ep. fam. x. 30.

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“ great loss *.” Antony reproached him afterwards with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horse or general’s habit : but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero, from letters that were read to the senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage †.

The news reached Rome on the twentieth of April, where it raised an incredible joy ; and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero’s house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, whence, on their return, they placed him in the rostra, to give them an account of the victory ; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations : so that, in a letter upon it to Brutus, he says, “ that he “ reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if “ there be any fruit in true and solid glory ‡.”

* Cum—ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus e prælio—Phil. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus, equitatuque confligit. Ib. 10.

Cæsar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. 1. 3. 571.

† Priore prælio Antonius cum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Suet. Aug. x.

‡ Cum hesterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit ? domum inde reduxit—Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,—fructum cepi maximum ; si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The day following the senate was summoned by Cornutus, the prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the consuls and Octavius; Servilius's opinion was, "that the city should now quit the sagum, and take the common gown again; and that a public thanksgiving should be decreed jointly to the honour of the consuls and Octavius." Cicero spoke next, and declared strongly against quitting the sagum till D. Brutus was first delivered from the siege: "that it would be ridiculous to put it off till they should see him in safety for whose sake they had put it on—that the motion for quitting it flowed from envy to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory that it would be to his name, to have it delivered to posterity that the people of Rome had put on the sagum for the danger, and resumed the gown for the preservation of one citizen—he advised them therefore to continue in their former mind, of thinking the whole danger and stress of the war to depend on D. Brutus—and though there was reason to hope that he was already safe, or would shortly be so, yet they should reserve the fruit of that hope to fact and the event, lest they should be found too hasty in snatching the favour of the gods, or foolish in contemning the power of fortune*."—Then, as to the decree of the thanksgiving, he urges Servilius with omitting two things in his vote which ought necessarily to have accompanied it—the giving Antony the title of enemy, and

* Phil. 14. 1. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

their own generals of emperors:—"the swords of
"our soldiers are dyed," says he, "or rather moist-
"ened only as yet with blood: if it was the blood
"of enemies, it was an act of the utmost piety: if
"of citizens, the most detestable wickedness: how
"long then shall he, who has outdone all enemies in
"villany, go without the name of enemy? he is now
"waging an inexpiable war with four consuls, with
"the senate and people of Rome; denounces plagues,
"devastation, the rack and tortures to us all: con-
"fesses that Dolabella's horrid act, which no barba-
"rians would own, was done by his advice: declares
"what he would have done to this city by the ca-
"lamity of the people of Parma; honest and excel-
"lent men, firm to the interests of the senate and
"people, whom L. Antony, the portent and disgrace
"of his species, put to death by all the methods of
"cruelty*. That Hannibal was never so barbarous
"to any city, as Antony to Parma. He conjures
"them to remember how much they had all been
"terrified for two days past by villainous reports
"spread about the city; and were expecting either
"a wretched death, or lamentable flight, and could
"they scruple to call those men enemies, from whom
"they feared such dreadful things?—he then pro-
"posed to enlarge the number of days of the thanks-
"giving, since it was not to be decreed to one, but
"to three generals jointly; to whom in the first
"place he would give the title of emperors—since

* Phil. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.--C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ there had not been a supplication decreed without
“ it for twenty years past; so that Servilius should
“ not either have decreed it at all, or allowed the
“ usual honour to those, to whom even new and un-
“ usual honours were due*. That if, according to
“ the present custom, the title of emperor was com-
“ monly given for killing a thousand or two of Spa-
“ niards, Gauls, or Thracians; how could they re-
“ fuse it now, when so many legions were routed,
“ and such a multitude slain?—for with what ho-
“ nours, says he, and congratulations should our de-
“ liverers themselves be received into this temple,
“ when yesterday, on account of what they have
“ done, the people of Rome carried me into the Ca-
“ pitol in a kind of triumph? for that, after all, is a
“ just and real triumph, when, by the general voice
“ of the city, a public testimony is given to those
“ who have deserved well of the commonwealth.
“ For if, in the common joy of the whole city, they
“ congratulated me singly, it is a great declaration
“ of their judgment; if they thanked me, still great-
“ er; if both, nothing can be imagined more glo-
“ rious—that he was forced to say so much of him-
“ self against his will, by the strange envy and in-
“ juries which he had lately suffered—that the inso-
“ lence of the factious, as they all knew, had raised
“ a report and suspicion upon him, of his aiming at
“ a tyranny; though his whole life had been spent
“ in defending the republic from it: as if he, who

* Phil. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ had destroyed Catiline for that very crime, was of
“ a sudden become a Catiline himself*. That if
“ the report had found credit in the city, their de-
“ sign was, by a sudden assault upon his person, as
“ upon a tyrant, to have taken away his life—that
“ the thing itself was manifest, and the whole affair
“ should be laid open in proper time—that he had
“ said all this, not to purge himself to them, to whom
“ he should be sorry to want an apology, but to
“ admonish certain persons, of jejune and narrow
“ minds, to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens,
“ as the object of their imitation, not of their envy ;
“ since the republic was a wide field, where the
“ course of glory was open to many†: that if any
“ man contested with him the first place in the go-
“ vernment, he acted foolishly, if he meant to do it
“ by opposing vice to virtue: that as the race was
“ gained by running the fastest, so virtue was only
“ to be conquered by a superior virtue—that they
“ could never get the better of him by bad votes ;
“ by good ones perhaps they might, and he himself
“ should be glad of it—that the people of Rome
“ were perpetually inquiring how men of their rank
“ voted and acted, and formed their judgment of
“ them accordingly—that they all remembered how,
“ in December last, he was the author of the first
“ step towards recovering their liberty ; how from
“ the first of January he had been continually watch-
“ ing over the safety of the commonwealth: how

* Phil. 5.

† Ibid. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.--C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ his house and his ears were open day and night to
“ the advices and informations of all who came to
“ him: how his opinion always was against an em-
“ bassy to Antony: how he had always voted him
“ an enemy, and their present state a war; but as
“ oft as he mentioned an enemy or a war, the con-
“ suls had always dropt his motion from the num-
“ ber of those that were proposed*, which could not
“ however be done in the present case, because he,
“ who had already voted a thanksgiving, had unwa-
“ rily voted Antony an enemy; since a thanksgiv-
“ giving had never been decreed but against ene-
“ mies; and never asked or granted in what was
“ properly a civil war—that they should either have
“ denied it, or must of course decree those to be
“ enemies for whose defeat it was granted. Then,
“ after flourishing on the particular merit of the
“ three generals, Pansa, Hirtius, Octavius, and shew-
“ ing how well they had each deserved the name of
“ emperor, he decrees a thanksgiving of fifty days,
“ in the name of the three jointly†.” In the last
place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to
the soldiers, and especially of the honours to be paid
to those who had lost their lives in the defence of
their country.—For these he proposes a splendid
“ monument to be erected in common to them all,
“ at the public charge, with their names and services
“ inscribed”—and, in recommending it, breaks out
into a kind of funeral eulogium upon them—“ Oh

* Phil. 7.

† Ibid. 8, 9, 10, 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ happy death, says he, which, when due to nature,
“ was paid to your country ! for I cannot but look
“ upon you as born for your country, whose name
“ is even derived from Mars : as if the same god,
“ who gave birth to this city for the good of nations,
“ had given birth also to you for the good of this
“ city. Death in flight is scandalous, in victory glo-
“ rious ; wherefore, whilst those impious wretches,
“ whom you slew, will suffer the punishment of their
“ parricide in the infernal regions, you, who breathed
“ your last in victory, have obtained the place and
“ seat of the pious. The life given to us by nature
“ is short, but the memory of a life well spent ever-
“ lasting ; if it were not longer than this life, who
“ would be so mad, at the expence of the great-
“ est pains and danger, to contend for the prize of
“ glory ? your lot therefore is happy, O you, while
“ you lived, the bravest, now the holiest of soldiers ;
“ for the fame of your virtue can never be lost, either
“ by the forgetfulness of those who are now alive,
“ or the silence of those who shall come hereafter ;
“ since the senate and people of Rome have raised
“ to you, as it were with their own hands, an im-
“ mortal monument. There have been many great
“ and famous armies in the Punic, Gallic, Italic wars ;
“ yet no such honour was ever done to any of them.
“ I wish that we could still do greater, since you
“ have done the greatest services to us : you drove
“ Antony, mad with rage, from the city ; you re-
“ pulsed him when he attempted to return ; a fa-
“ bric therefore shall be erected, of magnificent

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

“ work, and letters engraved upon it, the eternal
“ witnesses of your divine virtue; nor will those who
“ see or hear of your monument, ever cease talking of
“ you : so that, instead of this frail and mortal condi-
“ tion of life, you have now acquired an immortali-
“ ty*.” He then renews their former assurances to
“ the old legions, of the full and punctual payment
“ of all which had been promised to them, as soon
“ as the war should be over; and for those, in the
“ mean time, who had lost their lives for their coun-
“ try, he proposes, that the same rewards which
“ would have been given to them if they had lived,
“ should be given immediately to their parents, chil-
“ dren, wives, or brothers.”—All which he includes,
as usual, in the form of a decree, which was ratified
by the senate.

Antony being cruelly mortified by his defeat, kept himself close within his camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive, except by harassing the enemy with his horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Modena, which was reduced to extremity, and by the strength of his works to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it, and, after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather

* Phil. 12.

A Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius.

than suffer the town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate, and Antony's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it; till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same time to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory: Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's camp; but when he had gained the middle of it was unfortunately killed near the general's tent; Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place; but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the camp, with the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops; while Antony himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps.—Some writers give a different relation of this action, but, from the facts and circumstances of it delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuine account. The consul Pansa died the day following of his wounds at Bologna*.

* Cum alia laudo, et gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque perisse et Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. fam. xi. 13. et Appian. l. 3. p. 372.

SECTION XI.

THE entire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established: which would probably have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the consuls survived it: but the death of the consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the republic*. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately entrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts: but, as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all who were in arms with Pompey from any employment or office in the state†: which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who

* Hirtium quidem et Pansam—In consulatu Reip. salutes, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti respub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. fam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantum perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus consulum, &c. Ib. x.

† Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose father had been proscribed by Sylla *, was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause, and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity; he was a grave, sincere, and worthy man; and, being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity, and restored, by his interest, to the city and their estates †. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicurism to Cicero, alleges Pansa, as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts ‡. Before their entrance into the consulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both; “as of a lewd, “luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a paultry town, much less of the empire; “and says, that, if they were not removed from the “helm, the republic would certainly be lost; since “Antony would easily draw them into a partnership “of his crimes; for when he served with them in “Gaul, he had seen incredible instances of their ef-

* Dio. l. 45. 278.

† Pansa, gravis homo et certus—Ep. fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Ep. fam. 15. 17.

‡ Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“feminacy and debauchery, in the face even of the “enemy*.”—But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus: for, whatever they had been before, they were certainly good consuls; and, out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar’s death would throw the republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing Cæsar’s place; and resolved therefore to quell, by open force, all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained indeed some prejudices in favour of that party; and were loath to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but never to distrust them; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigour, as detrimental to the common cause: yet, while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them: for they both not only exposed, but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the republic; and shewed themselves to be the very men which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be; and, though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa, he

* Quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last *.

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty; and sustain the tottering republic till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their consulship of the next year: all whose armies, together with the African legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two consuls placed Octavius at once above controul, by leaving him the master of both their armies; especially of all the veterans, who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance: for he

* Quales tibi sæpe scripsi consules, tales extiterunt. (ad Brut. 3.) erat in senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in socerum: cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum deficit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio—Ib. 10.

N. B.—Several medals were struck by the senate on the occasion of this victory; particularly one in honour of Pansa, exhibiting the head of the *Goddess of Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inscription, Libertatis; and on the reverse, Rome sitting upon the spoils of the enemies, holding a spear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. Pansa. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

was observed to be the first man who took up Hir-
tius's body in the camp, where some imagined him
to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's
physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into prison by
Torquatus, Pansa's quæstor, upon a suspicion of hav-
ing poisoned his wounds *. But the chief ground of
that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coin-
cidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius :
for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and, in the most
pressing manner, begged of Cicero to procure Glyco's
enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as
being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a
villainy; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest
loss by Pansa's death †.

Cicero was soon aware of the dangerous turn which
this event was likely to give to their affairs; and,
within a day or two after the news, intimates his
apprehension of it to Brutus: "Young Cæsar," says
he, "has a wonderful disposition to virtue: I wish
"that I may govern him as easily, in all this height
"of honour and power, as I have hitherto done: the
"thing is now much harder; yet I do not despair of
"it: for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by me,

* Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio
fugato, repub. consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occu-
paret. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medi-
cus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulnere indidisset. Suet. Aug.
xi. Dio. l. 46. 317. App. p. 572.

† Tibi Glycona medicum Pansæ —diligentissime commendo;
audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansæ,
custodiri ut parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo
te, et quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia. Ad Brut. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ that we owe our present safety to him : and, in truth, if he had not at first driven Antony from the city, all had been lost *.” But, as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every letter, to bring his army into Italy, as the only thing which could save them in their present circumstances : and, to enforce his own authority, he procured a vote also of the senate, to call him home with his legions to the defence of the republic †.

At Rome, however, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their consuls ; and Antony’s friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the senate : where he poured out all imaginable honours on the deceased, Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila ; decreed *an ovation to Caesar* ; and added a number of days to their thanksgiving, in honour of D. Brutus : whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the fasti or public kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony’s adherents were also declared enemies : in which number Servilius himself included Ventidius ; and

* *Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem et honoribus et gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus ! est omnino illud difficilius : sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, et maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos : et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Ad Brut. 3.*

† *Te, cognita senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum : quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere desiderabat respublica. Ad Brut. x.*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

moved, to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined Brutus; in case that he should find it useful to the republic*.

The decree of an ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends†; yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for, while it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the city: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

The commanders abroad were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony at Modena, labours to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero, "that they had done it against his orders; and though, for their former relation to him, he was unwilling to punish them with the last severity, yet he had

* A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, et ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrare utile—persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

† Suspicio illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut ovanti introire Casari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ not since employed them, or received them even
 “ into his camp. He acquaints him, that Antony
 “ was arrived in his province with one legion, and a
 “ great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his
 “ horse, which was very strong ; and that Ventidius
 “ had joined him with three legions : that he was
 “ marching out against him with all his forces ; and
 “ that many of Antony’s horse and foot daily desert-
 “ ed him.—That, for himself, he would never be
 “ wanting in his duty to the senate and republic :—
 “ thanks him for not giving credit to the false reports
 “ which were spread of him :—begs him to expect
 “ every thing from him which could be expected
 “ from an honest man, and to take him under his
 “ special protection *.”

Pollio still more explicitly : “ That there was no
 “ time now for loitering, or expecting the orders of
 “ the senate :—That all who wished to preserve the
 “ empire, and the very name of the Roman people,
 “ ought to lend their present help :—That nothing
 “ was more dangerous, than to give Antony leisure
 “ to recollect himself :—That, for his part, he would
 “ neither desert nor survive the republic—was griev-
 “ ed only for his being at such a distance, that he
 “ could not come so soon as he wished to its relief,
 “ &c †.”

Plancus sent word, “ that he was taking all possi-
 “ ble care to oppress Antony, if he came into that
 “ country.—That if he came without any considera-

* Ep. fam. x. 34.

† Ibid. 33.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ble body of troops, he should be able to give a
 “good account of him, though he should be receiv-
 “ed by Lepidus; or, if he brought any force with
 “him, would undertake that he should do no harm
 “in those parts, till they could send him succours
 “sufficient to destroy him:——that he was then in
 “a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their forces in
 “the same cause, by the mediation of Laterensis and
 “Furnius; nor would be hindered by his private
 “quarrel to the man, from concurring with his great-
 “est enemy in the service of the commonwealth*.”
 In another letter, he speaks with great contempt of
 “Antony’s shattered forces, tho’ joined with those
 “of Ventidius, the *mule-driver*, as he calls him;
 “and is confident, that, if he could have met with
 “them, they would not have stood an hour before
 “him†.”

The conquerors at Modena were much censured in the mean time for giving Antony leisure to escape; but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony’s power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the empire, of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment; whereas if Antony

* Ep. fam. xi.

† Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego et mihi confido, et sic percussas illius copias, Ventidique *mulionis* castra despicio. Ib. 18.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

had been wholly destroyed, together with the consuls, the republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, though master of a good army, was certainly a weak general*: when he was pressed therefore to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed in securing to his interests the troops of the consuls.

Cicero was particularly disgusted at Antony's escape, and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus; he tells him, "that if Antony should ever recover strength again, all his great services to the republic would come to nothing—it was reported, says he, at Rome, and all people believed it, that he was fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men, and himself almost broken-hearted; but if it be so with him, as I hear it is, that you cannot fight him again without danger, he does not seem to have fled from Modena, but to have changed only the seat of the war. Wherefore men are now quite different from what they were; some even complain that you did not pursue him; and think that he might have been destroyed if diligence had been used: such is the temper of people, and above all of ours, to abuse their liberty against those by whom they obtained it: it is your part however to take care that there be no real ground of complaint. The truth of the case is, he who op-

* Cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores, et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2 63.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ presses Antony puts an end to the war. What
“ the force of that is, it is better for you to consider,
“ than for me to write more explicitly *.”

D. Brutus in his answer gives him the reasons why he could not follow Antony so soon as he wished :
“ I had no horse, says he ; no carriages ; did not
“ know that Hirtius was killed ; had no confidence
“ in Cæsar before I met and talked with him ; thus
“ the first day passed. The next morning early I
“ was sent for by Pansa to Bologna, but on the
“ road met with an account of his death : I ran back
“ to my little army, for so I may truly call it : It is
“ extremely reduced, and in sad condition for want
“ of all things ; so that Antony gained two days of
“ me, and made much greater journeys in flying
“ than I could in pursuing ; for his troops went
“ straggling, mine in order. Wherever he passed,
“ he opened all the prisons, carried away the men,
“ and stopt no where till he came to the fords. This
“ place lies between the Appenine and the Alps ;
“ a most difficult country to march through : when
“ I was thirty miles from him, and Ventidius had
“ already joined him, a copy of his speech was
“ brought to me, in which he begs of his soldiers to
“ follow him cross the Alps ; and declares that he
“ acted in concert with Lepidus : but the soldiers
“ cried out, especially those of Ventidius, for he has
“ very few of his own, that they would either con-
“ quer or perish in Italy ; and began to beg that he

* Ep. fam. xi. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ would go to Pollentia : when he could not over-
 “ rule them, he put off his march to the next day.
 “ Upon this intelligence, I presently sent five co-
 “ horts before me to Pollentia, and followed them
 “ myself with the army : my detachment came to
 “ the place an hour before Trebellius with Antony’s
 “ horse ; this gave me an exceeding joy, for I esteem
 “ it equal to a victory*,” &c.

In another letter he says, “ that if Cæsar would
 “ have been persuaded by him to cross the Appe-
 “ nine, he could have reduced Antony to such straits,
 “ that he must have been destroyed by want rather
 “ than the sword ; but that they could neither com-
 “ mand Cæsar, nor Cæsar his own troops ; both
 “ which circumstances were very bad,†” &c. This
 authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts
 which are delivered by an old historian, and gene-
 rally received by all the moderns ; first, that Octa-
 vius after the victory refused to have any confer-
 ence with D. Brutus ; and that Brutus for that rea-
 son forbad him to enter his province, or to pursue
 Antony : secondly, that Pansa in his last moments
 sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with
 Antony against the senate‡. For it is evident, that
 on the very day of the victory there was actually a

Ep. fam. xi. 16.

† Quod si me Cæsar audisset, atque Appenninum transisset, in
 tantas angustias Antonium compulsem, ut inopia potius quam
 ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæ-
 sar exercitui suo : quod utrumque pessimum est.—Ib. x.

‡ Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hist. Rom. par Catrou &
 Rouillè. T. 17. l. 4. p. 433, &c.

A: Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

conference between the two first, which passed in so amicable a manner as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Pansa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech which is made for him to Octavius; especially since it appears, on the contrary, that instead of Octavius, Pansa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honour, and give a better colour to that sudden change of measures which from this hour he was determined to pursue*.

C. Antony was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers however soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it, and would have killed Antony, too if Brutus would have delivered him into

* There is an original medal still remaining that gives no small confirmation to this notion, and was struck probably at Rome, either by Pansa himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the senate, soon after Pansa's death, in testimony of the strict union that subsisted between him and D. Brutus Albinus. For on the one side there is the head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather of Pan, which is frequent on Pansa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. Pansa: and on the other, Albinus. Bruti. F. with two right hands joined, holding a caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord.—See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

their hands; but he could not be induced to take his life, though this was the second offence of the same kind; but pretending that he would order him to be thrown into the sea, sent him to be secured on shipboard, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief*: of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following answer.

“ As to the sedition in the fourth legion about C. Antony, you will take what I say in good part; I am better pleased with the severity of the soldiers than with yours. I am extremely glad that you have had a trial of the affection of your legions and the horse—as to what you write, that I am pursuing Antony much at my ease, and praise me for it; I suppose you really think so: but I do not by any means approve your distinction, when you say that our animosity ought to be exerted rather in preventing civil wars, than in revenging ourselves on the vanquished. I differ widely from you, Brutus, not that I yield to you in clemency; but a salutary severity is always preferable to a specious shew of mercy. If we are so fond of pardoning, there will be no end of civil wars: but you are to look to that; for I can say of myself what Plautus’s old man says in the *Trinummus*—life is almost over with me; it is you who are the most interested in it. You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take care; for you will not always have the people, nor the senate,

* Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ nor a leader of the senate, the same as now. Take
 “ this as from the Pythian oracle ; nothing can be
 “ more true*.”

Brutus's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the tragical story which the old writers have dressed up, of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate†, died most probably about this time at Rome, of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health when Brutus left Italy, where she is said to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious that she was taking her last leave of him : and Plutarch says, that there was a letter of Brutus extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness : this however is certain, that in a letter to Atticus he gives a hint of Porcia's indisposition, with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her‡ : and the following letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occasion but that of her death.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ I should perform the same office which you formerly did in my loss, of comforting you by letter,
 “ did I not know that you cannot want those reme-

* Ad Brut. 2.

† App. l. iv. 699. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.

‡ Valetudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ dies in your grief, with which you relieved mine.
“ I wish only that you may now cure yourself more
“ easily than at that time you cured me: for it would
“ be strange in so great a man as you, not to be able
“ to practise what he had prescribed to another. As
“ for me, not only the reasons which you then col-
“ lected, but your very authority, deterred me from
“ indulging my sorrow to excess. For when you
“ thought me to behave myself with greater softness
“ than became a man; especially one who used to
“ comfort others, you chid me with more severity
“ than it was usual for you to express: so that, out
“ of a reverence to your judgment, I roused myself;
“ and, by the accession of your authority, took every
“ thing that I had learnt or read, or heard on that
“ subject, to have the greater weight. Yet my part,
“ Brutus, at that time was only to act agreeably to
“ duty and nature; but your’s, as we say, is to be
“ acted on the stage, and before the people. For
“ when the eyes, not only of your army, but of all
“ the city, nay, of all the world, are upon you, it is
“ wholly indecent for one, by whom other mor-
“ tals are made the stouter, to betray any dejection
“ or want of courage. You have suffered indeed a
“ great loss; (for you have lost that which has not
“ left its fellow on earth) and must be allowed to
“ grieve under so cruel a blow; lest to want all sense
“ of grief should be thought more wretched than
“ grief itself: but to do it with moderation is both
“ useful to others, and necessary to yourself. I would
“ write more, if this was not already too much: we

A. Urb. 712. Cic. 64.

“ expect you and your army : without which, though
“ all other things succeed to our wishes, we shall
“ hardly ever be free †.”

As the time of chusing magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up the colleges of priests, in which there were many vacancies ; so Brutus was sending home many of his young nobles to appear as candidates at the election ; the two Bibulus's, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous that his son also should come with them, to be elected a priest ; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it ; and, if he thought proper, to send him away immediately ; for, though he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier if he was present *. He touches this little affair in several of his letters ; but, finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured the election of priests to be thrown off to the next year : and Brutus having sent him word, in the mean while, that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to send him back again, though he found him landed in Italy : since nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honourable to his son, than his continuance with Brutus †.

‡ Ad Brut. 9.

* Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora. Ad Brut. 5.

† Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem ut etiam

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

Not long after the battle of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat and death, from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero and his friends at Rome. Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged that province of its money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and, having got possession of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and, after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place; where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment which he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him*.

si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram, sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta, &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

* Ep. fam. 12, 13, 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47. 344.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new legions of the late consuls, while all the veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius: so that, after Antony was joined by Ventidius with three legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero therefore to write to Lepidus not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since, by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that Antony had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gives Plancus immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him *. But he complains much, in all his letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of troops; being, for the most part, new raised men, bare, and needy of all things †. "I cannot," says he, "maintain my sol-

* In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto.—Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam—Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum. Ep. fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

† Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ diers any longer. When I first undertook to free
 “ the republic, I had above three hundred thousand
 “ pounds of my own in money : but am now so far
 “ from having any thing, that I have involved all
 “ my friends in debt for me. I have seven legions
 “ to provide for : consider with what difficulty : had
 “ I the treasures of Varro, I could not support the
 “ expence*.” He desired therefore a present sup-
 ply of money, and some veteran legions, especially
 the fourth and Martial, which continued still with
 Octavius. This was decreed to him readily by the
 senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paulus, Lepi-
 dus’s brother † : but Cicero wrote him word, “ that
 “ all who knew those legions the best, affirmed, that
 “ they would not be induced by any terms to serve
 “ under him : that money, however, should certain-
 “ ly be provided for him”—and concludes by observ-
 ing, “ that if Lepidus should receive Antony, it
 “ would throw them again into great difficulties :
 “ but that it was Brutus’s part, to take care that
 “ they should have no cause to fear the event : for
 “ as to himself, that he could not possibly do more
 “ than he had already done : but wished to see D.
 “ Brutus the greatest and most illustrious of men ‡.”

* Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. liberan-
 dam accessi. H S. mihi fuit pecuniæ c c c c amplius. Tantum
 abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam
 meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc
 legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis
 thesauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

† Ep. fam. xi. 19.

‡ Legionem Martiam et quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla
 conditione ad te posse perducī. Pecuniæ, quam desideras, ratio
 potest

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

Plancus, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negociation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony : it was managed on Plancus's side by Furnius ; on Lepidus's, by Laterensis, one of his lieutenants ; a true friend to the republic, and zealous to engage his general to its interests ; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity ; so that Plancus was marching forward in great haste to join with him ; of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“ After I had written my letters, I thought it of
“ service to the public, that you should be informed
“ of what has since happened. My diligence, I hope,
“ has been of use both to myself and to the com-
“ monwealth : for I have been treating with Lepi-
“ dus by perpetual messages, that, laying aside all
“ former quarrels, he would be reconciled, and suc-
“ cour the republic in common with me, and shew
“ more regard to himself, his children, and the city,
“ than to a desperate abandoned robber ; in which
“ case he might depend on my service and assistance
“ for all occasions : I transacted the affair by Later-
“ ensis. He pawned his faith, that, if he could not
“ keep Antony out of his province, he would pursue
“ him by open war ; begged that I would come and

potest haberi, eaque habebitur—ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ join forces with him, and so much the more, be-
“ cause Antony was said to be strong in horse;
“ whereas Lepidus could hardly be called indifferent:
“ for not many days before, even out of his small
“ number, ten, who were reckoned his best, came
“ over to me. As soon as I was informed of this, I
“ resolved, without delay, to support Lepidus in the
“ execution of his good intentions: I saw, of what
“ benefit my joining him would be, either for pur-
“ suing and destroying Antony’s horse with mine, or
“ for correcting and restraining, by the presence of
“ my army, the corrupt and disaffected part of Le-
“ pidus’s. Having made a bridge therefore in one
“ day over the Isere, a very great river in the terri-
“ tory of the Allobroges, I passed with my army on
“ the twelfth of May: but having been informed
“ that L. Antony was sent before with some horse
“ and cohorts to Forum Julii, I had sent my brother
“ the day before with four thousand horse to meet
“ with him, intending to follow myself by great jour-
“ neys with four legions, and the rest of my horse,
“ without the heavy baggage. If we have any to-
“ lerable fortune for the republic, we shall here put
“ an end to the audaciousness of the desperate, and
“ to all our own trouble: but if the robber, upon
“ hearing of my arrival, should run back again into
“ Italy, it will be Brutus’s part to meet with him
“ there: who will not be wanting, I know, either in
“ counsel or courage: but if that should happen, I
“ will send my brother also with the horse, to follow
“ and preserve Italy from being ravaged by him.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ Take care of your health, and love me as I love you *.”

But Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined at all hazards to support Antony ; and, though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last by his own soldiers to receive him, yet that was only to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both. His view in treating with Plancus, was, probably, to amuse and draw him so near to them, that, when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him : but Plancus, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on ; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted ; and that he himself had deserted ; “ exhorting Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be “ drawn into a snare, and to perform his duty to the “ republic ; for that he had discharged his faith, by “ giving him this warning †,” &c.

* Ep. fam. x. 15.

† At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi literas, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum : in quibus aperte denunciatur, videam ne fallar : suam fidem solutam esse, Reipub. ne desim. Ib. 21,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

Plancus gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions; he acquaints him “ that Lepidus
“ and Antony joined their camps on the 28th of
“ May, and the same day marched forward towards
“ him : of all which he knew nothing, till they were
“ come within twenty miles of him : that upon the
“ first intelligence of it he retreated in all haste ; re-
“ passed the Isere, and broke down the bridges
“ which he had built upon it, that he might have
“ leisure to draw all his forces together and join
“ them with his colleague D. Brutus, whom he ex-
“ pected in three days :—that Laterensis, whose sin-
“ gular fidelity he should ever acknowledge, when
“ he found himself duped by Lepidus, laid violent
“ hands upon himself ; but, being interrupted in the
“ act, was thought likely to live :—he desires that
“ Octavius might be sent to him with his forces ; or,
“ if he could not come in person, that his army how-
“ ever might be sent, since his interest was so much
“ concerned in it :—that as the whole body of the re-
“ bels was now drawn into one camp, they ought to
“ act against them with the whole force of the re-
“ public*,” &c.

The day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short letter to the senate, wherein “ he calls
“ the gods and men to witness that he had nothing
“ so much at heart as the public safety and liberty ;
“ of which he should shortly have given them proofs,
“ had not fortune prevented him : for that his sol-

* Ep. fam. x. 23.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ diers, by a general mutiny and sedition, had plain-
“ ly forced him to take so great a multitude of citi-
“ zens under his protection. He beseeches them,
“ that, laying aside all their private grudges, they
“ would consult the good of the whole republic; nor
“ in a time of civil dissension treat his clemency, and
“ that of his army, as criminal and traitorous.”*

D. Brutus on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord and the affection of the whole province on their side; which being signified in their common letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a letter of Plancus to Cicero, “ you know,” says he, “ I imagine, the
“ state of our forces : in my camp there are three
“ veteran legions, with one new, but the best of all
“ others of that sort : in Brutus’s, one veteran le-
“ gion, another of two years standing, eight of new
“ levies : so that our whole army is great in number,
“ little in strength; for what small dependence there
“ is in a fresh soldier we have oft experienced to our
“ cost. If the African troops, which are veteran, or
“ Cæsar’s should join us, we should willingly put all
“ to the hazard of a battle : as I saw Cæsar’s to
“ be the nearest, so I have never ceased to press him,
“ nor he to assure me that he would come instantly,
“ though I perceive that he had no such thought,
“ and is quite gone off into other measures : yet I
“ have sent our friend Furnius again to him, with

* Ep. fam. x. 35.

A Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ letters and instructions, if he can possibly do any
“ good with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that
“ as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to me in
“ common with you : for on the account either of
“ my intimacy with his uncle when alive, it was ne-
“ cessary for me to protect and cherish him ; or be-
“ cause he himself, as far as I have been able to ob-
“ serve, is of a most moderate and gentle disposition ;
“ or that, after so remarkable a friendship with C.
“ Cæsar, it would be a shame for me not to love him,
“ even as my own child, whom he had adopted for
“ his son. But what I now write, I write out of
“ grief rather than ill-will : that Antony now lives ;
“ that Lepidus is joined with him ; that they have
“ no contemptible army ; that they have hopes, and
“ dare pursue them ; is all intirely owing to Cæsar.
“ I will not recal what is long since passed ; but if
“ he had come at the time when he himself declared
“ that he would, the war would have been either
“ now ended, or removed to their great disadvan-
“ tage into Spain, a province utterly averse to them.
“ What motive, or whose counsels, drew him off
“ from a part so glorious, nay, so necessary too, and
“ salutary to himself, and turned him so absurdly to
“ the thoughts of a two months consulship, to the
“ terror of all people, I cannot possibly comprehend :
“ His friends seem capable of doing much good on
“ this occasion, both to himself and the republic ;
“ and, above all others you, to whom he has greater
“ obligations than any man living, except myself ;
“ for I shall never forget that I am indebted to you

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ for the greatest. I have given order to Furnius
 “ to treat with him on these affairs : and if I had as
 “ much authority with him as I ought, should do him
 “ great service. We in the mean time have a very
 “ hard part to sustain in the war : for we neither
 “ think it safe to venture a battle, nor yet, by turn-
 “ ing our backs, to give the enemy an opportunity
 “ of doing greater mischief to the republic : but if
 “ either Cæsar would regard his honour, or the Afri-
 “ can legions come quickly, we shall make you all
 “ easy from this quarter. I beg you to continue
 “ your affection to me, and assure yourself that I am
 “ strictly your’s*.”

Upon the news of Lepidus’s union with Antony, the senate, after some little time spent in considering the effects of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June ; and demolished the gilt statue which they had lately erected to him : reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the first of September†. Lepidus’s wife was M. Brutus’s sister, by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the father’s estate ; for which reason, Servilia, their grandmother, and Cas-

* Ep. fam. x. 24.

† Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint. sentiis omnibus hostis a senatu judicatus est ; cæterique qui una cum illo a repub. defecerunt : quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est. Ep. fam. 12. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

sius's wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it : but Cicero would not consent to oblige them : for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course : he gave Brutus however a particular account of the case by letter,

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ Though I was just going to write to you by
“ Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our friend
“ Vetus come without a letter. The republic, Bru-
“ tus, is now in the utmost danger, and, after we had
“ conquered, we are forced again to fight by the perfidy and madness of M. Lepidus. On which occasion,
“ when, for the care with which I have charged myself of the republic, I had many things to make
“ me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me more than that
“ I could not yield to the prayers of your mother
“ and sister ; for I imagined that I should easily satisfy you, on which I lay the greatest stress. For
“ Lepidus's case could not by any means be distinguished from Antony's ; nay, in all people's judgment, was even worse ; since, after he had received
“ the highest honours from the senate, and but a
“ few days before had sent an excellent letter to
“ them ; on a sudden he not only received the broken
“ remains of our enemies, but now wages a most
“ cruel war against us by land and sea ; the event

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ of which is wholly uncertain. When we are de-
“ sired therefore to extend mercy to his children,
“ not a word is said, why, if their father should con-
“ quer, (which the gods forbid) we are not to ex-
“ pect the last punishment from him. I am not ig-
“ norant how hard it is that children should suffer
“ for the crimes of their parents ; but it was wisely
“ contrived by the laws, that the love of their chil-
“ dren should make parents more affectionate to
“ their country. Wherefore it is Lepidus who is
“ cruel to his children, not he who adjudges Lepi-
“ dus an enemy : for if, laying down his arms, he
“ were to be condemned only of violence, in which
“ no defence could be made for him, his children
“ would suffer the same calamity by the confiscation
“ of his estate. Yet what your mother and sister
“ are now soliciting against in favour of the children,
“ the very same and much worse Lepidus, Antony,
“ and our other enemies, are at this very moment
“ threatening to us all. Wherefore our greatest
“ hope is in you and your army : it is of the utmost
“ consequence, both to the republic in general, and
“ to your honour and glory in particular, that, as I
“ wrote to you before, you come as soon as possible
“ into Italy ; for the republic is in great want, not
“ only of your forces, but of your counsels. I served
“ Vetus with pleasure, as you desired me, for his
“ singular benevolence and duty to you : I found
“ him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you
“ and the republic : I shall see my son I hope very

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ soon; for I depend on his coming with you quickly to Italy *.”

Brutus, before he had received this letter, having heard from other friends what they were designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about the same time, and on the same subject, to Cicero.

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ Other people’s fears oblige me to entertain some apprehensions myself on Lepidus’s account: if he should withdraw himself from us, (which will prove I hope a rash and injurious suspicion of him) I beg and beseech of you, Cicero, conjuring you, by our friendship and your affection to me, to forget that my sister’s children are Lepidus’s sons, and to consider me in the place of their father. If I obtain this of you, you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live differently with their friends; but I can never do enough for my sister’s children to satisfy either my inclination or my duty. But what is there in which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of service to my mother, sister, and the boys, if their uncle Brutus has not as much weight with you and the senate to protect, as their father Lepidus to hurt them? I feel so much un-

* Ad Brut. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ easiness and indignation, that I neither can nor
“ ought to write more fully to you : for if, in a case
“ so important and so necessary, there could be any
“ occasion for words to excite and confirm you, there
“ is no hope that you will do what I wish, and what
“ is proper. Do not expect therefore any long
“ prayers from me : consider only what I am : and
“ that I ought to obtain it ; either from Cicero, a
“ man the most intimately united with me ; or, with-
“ out regard to our private friendship, from a consu-
“ lar senator of such eminence : pray send me word
“ as soon as you can what you resolve to do. July
“ the first*,”

Cicero, perceiving from this letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favour for his nephews, prevailed with the senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled†.

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius ; who, from the death of the consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero or the senate ; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however a while, to see what became of Antony ; till, finding himself received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme to enter into the league with them ; and to

* Ad Brut. 12.

† Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris et ex sororis literis cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it. 18.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

concur in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the consulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the city ; not that the consulship could give him any power which his army had not already given ; but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the senate ; and above all raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty : since, instead of leading his army where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the republic itself.

There was a report spread in the mean while through the empire, that Cicero was chosen consul : Brutus, mentioning it in a letter to him, says, “ If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a republic, subsisting by its own strength †.” It is certain, that he might have been declared consul, by the unanimous suffrage of the people, if he had desired it ; but, in times of such violence, the title of supreme magistrate, without a real power to support it, would have exposed him only to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers ; whose fastidious inso-

† His literis scriptis te consulem factum audivimus ; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi rempub. justam et jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

lence in their demands, was grown, as he complains, insupportable *. Some old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favour his pretensions to the consulship, by the hopes of being made his colleague, and governing him in the office †. But the contrary is evident from several of his letters; and that, of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus: "as to Cæsar," says he, "who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent disposition, and wonderful firmness, some people, by most wicked letters, messages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the consulship: As soon as I perceived it, I never ceased admonishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends, who are present, and who seem to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traitorous counsels in the senate: nor do I ever remember the senate and the magistrates to have behaved better on any occasion: for it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honour to a powerful, or rather most powerful man, (since power is now measured by force and arms) that no tribune, or any other magistrate, nor so much as a private senator, would move for it: yet, in the

* Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

† Plutar. in Cic.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

“ midst of all this firmness and virtue, the city is
 “ greatly alarmed : for we are abused, Brutus, both
 “ by the licentiousness of the soldiers, and the inso-
 “ lence of the general. Every one demands to have
 “ as much power in the state, as he has means to ex-
 “ tort it : no reason, no moderation, no law, no cus-
 “ tom, no duty is at all regarded, no judgment or
 “ opinion of the citizens, no shame of posterity *,”
 &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

What Cicero says in this letter, is very remarkable,
 “ that, in all this height of young Cæsar’s power,
 “ there was not a magistrate, nor so much as a single
 “ senator, who would move for the decree of his con-
 “ sulship :” the demand of it therefore was made by
 a deputation of his officers ; and, when the senate
 received it more coldly than they expected, Corne-
 lius, a centurion, throwing back his robe, and shew-
 ing them his sword, boldly declared, that, if they
 would not make him consul, that should. But Oc-
 tavius himself soon put an end to their scruples, by
 marching with his legions in a hostile manner to
 the city † ; where he was chosen consul, with Q. Pe-

* Ad Brut. 10.

† Consulatum vigesimo ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostili-
 ter ad urbem legionibus, missisque, qui sibi exercitus nomine de-
 poscerent. Cum quidem, cunctante senatu, Cornelius centurio,
 princeps legationis, rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non
 dubitasset in curia dicere ; hic faciet, si vos non feceritis. Sueton.
 Aug. c. 26.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

dius, his kinsman, and co-heir in part of his uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis, which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterwards from his own surname, Augustus†.

The first act of his magistracy was, to secure all the public money which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He complained loudly of the senate, "that, instead of paying his army the rewards which they had decreed to them, they were contriving to harrass them with perpetual toils, and to engage them in fresh wars against Lepidus and Antony: and likewise, that, in the commission granted to ten senators, to provide lands for the legions after the war, they had not named him*." But there was no just ground for any such complaints; for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæsar out of the commission, was not from any particular slight, but a general exception of all who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in such a charge; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar; and both of them seem likewise to have been disgusted at it; so that Cicero, who was one of the number, in order

† Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi et primus consulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

* Appian. 3. 581.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

to retrieve the imprudence of a step which gave such offence, would not suffer his colleagues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar and the rest †.

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures, was glad to catch at every occasion of quarrelling with the senate: he charged them with calling him a *boy*, and treating him as such ‡; and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom, after all the services received from him, his present views obliged him to abandon: for some busy informers had told him, “ that Cicero had spoken of “ him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a “ double meaning, either of advancing, or taking “ him off:”—which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following letter:

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Consul-Elect, to M. T. CICERO.

“ What I do not feel on my own account, my “ love and obligations to you make me feel on yours;

† Cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi. qui solent, reclamationum. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante—itaque cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Ep. fam. xi. 21. it. 20, 23.

‡ Dio. l. 46. 318. Suet. Aug. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ that is, fear. For, after I had been often told, “ what I did not wholly slight, Labeo Segulius, a “ man always like himself, just now informs me, that “ he has been with Cæsar, where there was much “ discourse on you : that Cæsar himself had no other “ complaint against you, but for a certain saying, “ which he declared to have been spoken by you ; “ *that the young man was to be praised, adorned, taken “ off** ; but he would not be so silly, he said, as to “ put it into any man’s power *to take him off*. This, “ I dare say, was first carried to him, or forged by “ Segulius himself, and did not come from the young “ man. Segulius had a mind likewise to persuade “ me, that the veterans talk most angrily against “ you ; and that you are in danger from them ; and “ that the chief cause of their anger is, because nei- “ ther Cæsar nor I am in the commission of the ten, “ but all things transacted by your will and plea- “ sure : upon hearing this, though I was then upon “ my march, I did not think it proper to pass the “ Alps, till I could first learn how matters were go- “ ing amongst you †,” &c.

To this Cicero answered :

“ The Gods confound that Segulius, the greatest “ knave, that is, or was, or ever will be. What, do “ you imagine, that he told this story only to you, “ and to Cæsar? he told the same to every soul that

* *Laudandum, adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.* Which last word signifies, either to *raise to honours*, or *take away life*.

† *Ep. fam. xi. 20.*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ he could speak with: I love you, however, my
 “ Brutus, as I ought, for acquainting me with it, how
 “ trifling soever it be: ’tis a sure sign of your affec-
 “ tion. For, as to what Segulius says, of the com-
 “ plaint of the veterans, because you and Cæsar were
 “ not in the commission, I wish that I was not in it
 “ myself; for what can be more troublesome? but,
 “ when I proposed, that those who had the command
 “ of armies should be included in it, the same men,
 “ who used to oppose every thing, remonstrated a-
 “ gainst it; so that you were excepted wholly a-
 “ gainst my vote and opinion †,” &c.

As for the story of the words, he treats it, we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology, or the pains of disclaiming it; and it seems indeed incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harboured such a thought, or had been tempted on any occasion to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his letters to Brutus; yet, on the contrary, he speaks always of Octavius in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common, than to have *sayings* forged for *his*, which he had never spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle at least for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay hold of: and, when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained

† Ep. fam. 21.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius ; though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit *.

While the city was in the utmost consternation on Cæsar's approach with his army, two veteran legions from Afric happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven : but this joy lasted not long ; for, presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio likewise, about the same time, with two of his best legions from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus : so that all the veterans of the western part of the empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old general. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last to desert his colleague D. Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord : Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus ; and soon after brought him over to their camp with all his troops.

D. Brutus being thus abandoned, and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army ; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself, than by flying to his

* Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

namesake in Macedonia: but the distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their general*.

Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of suffering his death; unworthy of the man who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar†.

But what gave the greatest shock to the whole republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and published by his colleague Pedius, "to bring to trial and justice all those who had been concerned, either in advising, or effecting Cæsar's death:" in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached in form by different accusers; and, as none of them ventured to appear to their citations,

* Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. 1. 3. 588. Max. 9. 13.

† Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.....C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

they were all condemned of course ; and, by a second law, *interdicted from fire and water* : Pompey also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to the Cæsarian cause : after which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the citizens the legacies which his uncle had left them by will*.

Cicero foresaw that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous ; and, for that reason, was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy, as the most effectual means to prevent it : every step that Cæsar took confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his letters to Brutus, “ Fly to “ us,” says he, “ I beseech you, and exhort Cassius to “ the same ; for there is no hope of liberty but from “ your troops †. If you have any regard for the re- “ public, for which you were born, you must do it “ instantly ; for the war is renewed by the incon- “ stancy of Lepidus ; and Cæsar’s army, which was “ the best, is not only of no service to us, but even “ obliges us to call for your’s : as soon as ever you “ touch Italy, there is not a man, whom we can call “ a citizen, who will not immediately be in your “ camp. We have D. Brutus indeed happily united

* App. 1. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

† Quamobrem advola, obsecro—hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ with Plancus : but you are not ignorant how
 “ changeable mens minds are, and how infected
 “ with party, and how uncertain the events of war :
 “ nay, should we conquer, as I hope we shall, there
 “ will be a want of your advice and authority to
 “ settle all affairs. Help us therefore, for God’s sake ;
 “ and as soon as possible : and assure yourself, that
 “ you did not do a greater service to your country
 “ on the Ides of March, when you freed it from sla-
 “ very, than you will do by coming quickly *.”

After many remonstrances also of the same kind,
 he wrote also the following letter :

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ After I had often exhorted you by letters, to
 “ come as soon as possible to the relief of the repub-
 “ lic, and bring your army into Italy, and never
 “ imagined that your own people had any scruples
 “ about it ; I was desired by that most prudent and
 “ diligent woman, your mother, all whose thoughts
 “ and cares are employed on you, that I would come
 “ to her on the twenty-fourth of July ; which I did,
 “ as I ought, without delay. When I came, I found
 “ Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius with her. She pre-
 “ sently entered into the affair, and asked my opi-

* Subveni igitur, per Deos, idque quam primum : tibi que per-
 suade, non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus re-
 pulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quam, si mature veneris, profutu-
 rum. Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ nion, whether we should send for you to Italy ;
“ and whether I thought it best for you to come, or
“ to continue abroad. I declared, what I took to be
“ the most for your honour and reputation, that,
“ without loss of time, you should bring present help
“ to the tottering and declining state. For what
“ mischief may not one expect from that war, where
“ the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying
“ enemy? where a general, unhurt, unprovoked,
“ possessed of the highest honours, and the greatest
“ fortunes, with a wife, children, and near relation
“ to you, has declared war against the common-
“ wealth? I may add, where, in so great a concord
“ of the senate and people, there resides still so much
“ disorder within the walls; but the greatest grief
“ which I feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect,
“ that, when the republic had taken my word for *a*
“ *youth*, or rather *a boy*, I shall hardly have it in my
“ power to make good what I promised for him.
“ For, it is a thing of much greater delicacy and
“ moment, to engage one’s self for another’s senti-
“ ments and principles, especially in affairs of im-
“ portance, than for money: for money may be paid,
“ and the loss itself be tolerable: but how can you
“ pay what you are engaged for to the republic, un-
“ less he, for whom you stand engaged, will suffer it
“ to be paid? yet, I am still in hopes to hold him;
“ though many are plucking him away from me :
“ for his disposition seems good, though his age be
“ flexible, and many always at hand to corrupt him;
“ who, by throwing in his way the splendour of false

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ honour, think themselves sure of dazzling his good
“ sense and understanding. Wherefore, to all my
“ other labours, this new one is added, of setting all
“ engines at work to hold fast the young man, lest I
“ incur the imputation of rashness. Though what
“ rashness is it after all? for, in reality, I bound him
“ for whom I was engaged more strongly than my-
“ self: nor has the republic as yet any cause to re-
“ pent, that I was his sponsor: since he has hitherto
“ been the more firm and constant in acting for us,
“ as well from his own temper, as for my promise.
“ The greatest difficulty in the republic, if I mistake
“ not, is the want of money: for honest men grow
“ every day more and more averse to the name of
“ tribute; and what was gathered from the hun-
“ dredth penny, where the rich are shamefully rated,
“ is all spent in rewarding the two legions. There
“ is an infinite expence upon us, to support the ar-
“ mies which now defend us; and also yours; for
“ our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently pro-
“ vided. But I long to talk over this, and many
“ other things with you in person; and that quick-
“ ly. As to your sister’s children, I did not wait,
“ Brutus, for your writing to me: the times them-
“ selves, since the war will be drawn into length,
“ reserve the whole affair to you: but, from the first,
“ when I could not foresee the continuance of the
“ war, I pleaded the cause of the children in the se-
“ nate, in a manner, which you have been informed
“ of, I guess, by your mother’s letters: nor can there
“ ever be any case, where I will not both say and

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64 —Coss. C Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think
“ agreeable either to your inclination or to your in-
“ terest. The twenty-sixth of July*.”

In a letter likewise to Cassius, he says, “ we wish
“ so see you in Italy as soon as possible ; and shall
“ imagine that we have recovered the republic when
“ we have you with us. We had conquered nobly,
“ if Lepidus had not received the routed, disarmed,
“ fugitive, Antony : wherefore Antony himself was
“ never so odious to the city as Lepidus is now ; for
“ he began a war upon us from a turbulent state of
“ things ; this man from peace and victory. We
“ have the consuls elect to oppose him ; in whom in-
“ deed we have great hopes ; yet not without an
“ anxious care for the uncertain events of battles.
“ Assure yourself therefore that all our dependance
“ is on you and your Brutus ; that you are both ex-
“ pected, but Brutus immediately*. &c.

But, after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius, indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus ; who, before the battle of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast. and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for Italy if any accident had made his assistance ne-

* Ep. fam. 12. 10.

† Ad Brut. 18.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Cos. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

cessary ; for which Cicero highly commends him*. But upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella ; and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct ; he had a better opinion of Lepidus than the rest of his party had ; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good : since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's letter, were of a different mind from Cicero on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops ; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the veterans in Italy ; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was entirely of Cicero's opinion : he saw himself surrounded with vete-

* *Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

ran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty ; knew the perfidy of Lepidus ; the ambition of young Cæsar ; and the irresolution of his colleague Plancus ; and admonished Cicero therefore in all his letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them*. So that on the whole it seems reasonable to believe, that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another letter to Cornificius, the proconsul of Afric, who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his legions : “ As to the expence,” says he, “ which you have made, and are making, in your “ military preparations, it is not in my power to “ help you ; because the senate is now without a “ head, by the death of the consuls, and there is an “ incredible scarcity of money in the treasury ; “ which we are gathering however from all quarters, “ to make good our promises to the troops that have “ deserved it of us ; which cannot be done in my “ opinion without a tribute†.” This tribute was a

* De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis literis ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

† De sumptu, quem te in rem militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod et orbis senatus, consulibus amissis, et incredibiles angustiae pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

sort of capitation-tax, proportioned to each man's substance, but had been wholly disused in Rome from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it*. But from what Cicero intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury which had infected even the honest part of Rome: who, in this utmost exigency of the republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax, and would not part with the least share of their money for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that, by starving the cause, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives also soon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The republic," says he, "is attacked all ways with greater vigor than it is defended: for the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders; whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and, neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused to exert them-

* At Perse rege devicto Paulus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributum præstandi onere se liberaret.—Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ selves but by the last necessity : so that, through
 “ irresolution and delay, when they would be glad
 “ to compound at last for their quiet, at the expence
 “ even of their honour, they commonly lose them
 “ both*.”

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessities from the cities of Asia. He was engaged in an inexorable war, where he must either conquer or perish, with the republic itself, and where his legions were not only to be supported but rewarded : the revenues of the empire were exhausted ; contributions came in sparingly ; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter, as doubtful of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties, where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful ; the necessity of the end justified the means ; and when the safety of the empire, and the liberty of Rome were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples. This was Cassius’s way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting ; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause that he had undertaken ; and kept his eyes, as Appian says, wholly fixt upon the war, as a gladiator upon his antagonist†.

* Pro Sextio 47.

† Ὁ μὲν Κασσιος ἀ μεταστρεπὶ, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχῶν-
 τες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πολέμον ἀφιέρει. App. l. 4. 667.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himself generally with the regular methods of raising money ; and, from his love of philosophy and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself wherever he passed with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations ; as if travelling rather for curiosity than to provide materials for a bloody war*. When he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of their circumstances shewed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war : Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius, who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service*.

While Cicero was taking all these pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counsels by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him ; charging him chiefly, that, by a profu-

* 'Ο δὲ Βρούτος ὅπῃ γίγναιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐκ ἀγενναΐας. App. l. 4. 667.

† Plutatch. in Bruto.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

sion of honours on young Cæsar, he had inspired him with an ambition incompatible with the safety of the republic, and armed him with that power which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honours Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that which he had already acquired by his own vigour, to the public service and the ruin of Antony; in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents which could not be foreseen. For it is evident, from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and, instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till, by the death of the consuls, he slipped out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting those honours; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint, in some of his letters, that they ought to have decreed still greater*.

But whatever Brutus, or any one else, may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it, in all respects, uniform, great, and glorious; never deviat-

* *Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari, de decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.*

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

ing from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country : whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help observing in it something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigour of a Stoic, and the severity of an old Roman ; yet, by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his friend and benefactor ; and declares, that, for the same cause, he would have killed even his father* : yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius, and Antony openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony : but, through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother-in-law Lepidus was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the republic was ever restored ; or, if not, in their father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his descent, and whom, in his general conduct, he pretended to imitate ? He blames Cicero for dispensing honours too largely, yet claims an in-

* —Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac senatu possit. (Ad Brut. 16.) sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. (Ib. 17.)

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. COS.—C. CÆSAR Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

finite share of them to himself; and, when he had seized, by his private authority, what the senate, at Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command which had been granted to any man; he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged †. This inconsistency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled principles of philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero, however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: As soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the best service which he could do, either to Brutus or the republic; and Atticus, imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject: but, instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as base and dishonour-

† Ego certe—cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno, et imperiis extraordinariis et dominatione et potentia—Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

able, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself: and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus, in such a stile, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, “ that his letters were generally churlish, “ unmannerly, and arrogant ; and, that he regarded “ neither what, or to whom he was writing *. But their own letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero’s management, Cicero took occasion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar’s death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ You have Messala now with you. It is not possible therefore for me to explain by letter, though “ ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our “ affairs so exactly as he, who not only knows them “ all more perfectly, but can describe them more “ elegantly than any man: for I would not have “ you imagine, Brutus, (though there is no occasion “ to tell you, what you know already yourself, but

* Ad Att. 6. 1, 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Caesar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ that I cannot pass over in silence such an excel-
“ lence of all good qualities :) I would not have you
“ imagine, I say, that, for probity, constancy, and
“ zeal for the republic, there is any one equal to
“ him ; so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully
“ excells, scarce finds a place among his other praises :
“ since, even in that, his wisdom shines the most
“ eminent, by his having formed himself with so
“ much judgment and skill to the truest manner of
“ speaking. Yet his industry all the while is so re-
“ markable, and he spends so much of his time in
“ study, that he seems to owe but little to his parts,
“ which still are the greatest. But I am carried too
“ far by my love for him : for it is not the purpose
“ of this epistle to praise Messala, especially to Bru-
“ tus, to whom his virtue is not less known, than to
“ myself ; and these very studies, which I am prais-
“ ing, still more : whom, when I could not part with
“ without regret, I comforted myself with reflecting,
“ that, by his going away to you, as it were, to my
“ second self, he both discharged his duty, and pur-
“ sued the surest path to glory. But so much for
“ that *. I come now, after a long interval, to con-

* Publius Valerius Messala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives so fine a character, was one of the noblest, as well as the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long afterwards the general favourite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proscribed of course by the Triumvirate, yet was excepted soon after by a special edict ; but refused the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty, till he saw it expire with his friend. After the battle of Philippi, the troops that remained, freely of-

ferred

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. COS.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“sider a certain letter of yours, in which, while you
 “allow me to have done well in many things, you
 “find fault with me for one ; that, in conferring ho-
 “nours, I was too free, and even prodigal. You
 “charge me with this; others, probably, with being
 “too severe in punishing, or you yourself perhaps
 “with both : if so, I desire that my judgment and
 “sentiments on each may be clearly explained to

ferred themselves to his command ; but he chose to accept peace, to which he was invited by the conquerors, and surrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coast of Sicily, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself, with one domestic, to the fidelity of Mesala ; who, instead of revenging himself on one who had so lately proscribed and set a price on his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and slavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared consul in Antony's place, greatly intrusted in the battle of Actium ; and honoured at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious Gauls to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of Rome : and, having been the disciple of Cicero, was thought by some to excel even his master in the sweetness and correctness of his stile ; preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence, he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts ; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the wits and poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his elegies ; and Horace, in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibul. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ you : not that I mean to justify myself by the
“ authority of Solon, the wisest of the seven, and the
“ only legislator of them all ; who used to say, that
“ the public weal was comprised in two things, re-
“ wards and punishments ; in which, however, as in
“ every thing else, a certain medium and tempera-
“ ment is to be observed. But it is not my design
“ at this time to discuss so great a subject : I think
“ it proper only, to open the reasons of my votes
“ and opinions in the senate, from the beginning of
“ this war. After the death of Cæsar, and those
“ your memorable Ides of March, you cannot forget,
“ Brutus, what I declared to have been omitted by
“ you, and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over
“ the republic : you had freed us from a great plague ;
“ wiped off a great stain from the Roman people ;
“ acquired to yourselves divine glory : yet all the
“ equipage and furniture of kingly power was left
“ still to Lepidus and Antony ; the one inconstant,
“ the other vicious ; both of them afraid of peace,
“ and enemies to the public quiet. While these
“ men were eager to raise fresh disturbances in the
“ republic, we had no guard about us to oppose
“ them ; though the whole city was eager and una-
“ nimous in asserting it’s liberty : I was then thought
“ too violent ; while you, perhaps more wisely, with-
“ drew yourselves from that city which you had de-
“ livered, and refused the help of all Italy, which
“ offered to arm itself in your cause. Wherefore,
“ when I saw the city in the hands of traitors, op-
“ pressed by the arms of Antony, and that neither

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ you nor Cassius could be safe in it ; I thought it
“ time for me to quit it too : for a city overpowered by
“ traitors, without the means of relieving itself, is a
“ wretched spectacle : Yet my mind, always the
“ same, and ever fixed on the love of my country,
“ could not bear the thought of leaving it in its dis-
“ tress : in the midst therefore of my voyage to
“ Greece, and in the very season of the Etesian winds,
“ when an uncommon south wind, as if displeased
“ with my resolution, had driven me back to Italy,
“ I found you at Velia, and was greatly concerned at
“ it : for you were retreating, Brutus ; were retreating,
“ I say ; since your Stoics will not allow their wise man
“ to fly. As soon as I came to Rome, I exposed myself
“ to the wickedness and rage of Antony ; and when I
“ had exasperated him against me, began to enter
“ into measures in the very manner of the Brutuses,
“ (for such are peculiar to your blood) for deliver-
“ ing the republic. I shall omit the long recital of
“ what followed, since it all relates to myself ; and
“ observe only, that young Cæsar, by whom, if we
“ will confess the truth, we subsist at this day, flow-
“ ed from the source of my counsels : I decreed him
“ no honours, Brutus, but what were due ; none but
“ what were necessary : for as soon as we began to
“ recover any liberty, and before the virtue of D. Bru-
“ tus had yet shewn itself so far that we could know
“ it’s divine force ; and while our whole defence was
“ in the boy who repelled Antony from our necks ;
“ what honour was not really due to him ? though I
“ gave him nothing yet but the praise of words, and

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ that but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal
“ command : which, though it seemed honourable to
“ one of that age, was yet necessary to one who had
“ an army: for what is an army without the command
“ of it? Philip voted him a statue; Servius the privilege
“ of suing for offices before the legal time; which
“ was shortened still by Servilius: nothing was then
“ thought too much: but we are apt, I know not how,
“ to be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success.
“ When D. Brutus was delivered from the siege, a day
“ of all others the most joyous to the city, which happened
“ also to be his birth-day, I decreed that his name
“ should be ascribed for ever to that day in the public
“ kalendars. In which I followed the example of our
“ ancestors who paid the same honour to a woman,
“ Larentia; at whose altar your priests perform sacred
“ rites in the Velabrum: by giving this to D. Brutus,
“ my design was to fix in the kalendars a perpetual
“ memorial of a most acceptable victory: but I perceived
“ on that day, that there was more malevolence than
“ gratitude in many of the senate. During these same
“ days, I poured out honours (since you will have it
“ so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila; and
“ who can find fault with it but those who, when fear
“ is once over, forget their past danger? But besides the
“ grateful remembrance of services, there was an use in
“ it which reached to posterity: for I was desirous that
“ there should remain an eternal monument of the
“ public hatred to our most cruel enemies. There

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ is one thing, I doubt, which does not please you ;
“ for it does not please your friends here ; who,
“ though excellent men, have but little experience
“ in public affairs ; that I decreed an ovation to Cæ-
“ sar : but for my part, (though I may perhaps be
“ mistaken, for I am not one of those who approve
“ nothing but what is my own), I cannot but think
“ that I have advised nothing more prudent during this
“ war. Why it is so, is not proper to be explained, lest
“ I be thought to have been more provident in it
“ than grateful : but even this is too much : let us
“ therefore pass to other things. I decreed honours
“ to D. Brutus ; decreed them to Plancus : they
“ must be men of great souls who are attracted by
“ glory : but the senate also is certainly wise in try-
“ ing every art that is honest, by which it can en-
“ gage any one to the service of the republic. But
“ I am blamed in the case of Lepidus ; to whom,
“ after I had raised a statue in the rostra, I present-
“ ly threw it down. My view in that honour was
“ to reclaim him from desperate measures ; but the
“ madness of an inconstant man got the better of
“ my prudence ; nor was there yet so much harm in
“ erecting as good in demolishing the statue. But
“ I have said enough concerning honours ; and must
“ say a word or two about punishments : for I have
“ often observed from your letters that you are fond
“ of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by your
“ treatment of those whom you have conquered in
“ war. I can imagine nothing to be done by you
“ but what is wisely done : but to omit the punish-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ing of wickedness (which we call pardoning),
“though it be tolerable in other cases, I hold to be
“pernicious in this war. Of all the civil wars that
“have been in my memory, there was not one
“in which, what side soever got the better, there
“would not have remained some form of a common-
“wealth: yet in this, what sort of a republic we are
“like to have if we conquer, I would not easily af-
“firm; but if we are conquered we are sure to have
“none. My votes therefore were severe against
“Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from any
“spirit of revenge, but to deter wicked citizens at
“present from making war against their country;
“and to leave an example to posterity, that none
“hereafter should imitate such rashness. Yet this very
“vote was not more mine than it was every body’s:
“in which there seems, I own, to be something cru-
“el, that the punishment should reach to children
“who have done nothing to deserve it: but the con-
“stitution is both ancient and of all cities; for The-
“mistocles’s children were reduced to want: and
“since the same punishment falls upon citizens con-
“demned of public crimes, how was it possible for us
“to be more gentle towards enemies? But how can
“that man complain of me, who, if he had conquer-
“ed, must needs confess that he would have treat-
“ed me even with more severity? You have now
“the motives of my opinions in the case of rewards
“and punishments: for as to other points you have
“heard, I imagine, what my sentiments and votes
“have been. But to talk of these things now is not

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ necessary : what I am going to say is extremely so,
“ Brutus ; that you come to Italy with your army as
“ soon as possible. We are in the utmost expectation
“ of you : whenever you set foot in Italy all the world
“ will fly to you : for whether it be our lot to con-
“ quer (as we had already done if Lepidus had not
“ been desirous to overturn all, and perish himself
“ with his friends) there will be a great want of
“ your authority, for the settling some state of a ci-
“ ty amongst us ; or, if there be any danger and
“ struggle still behind, hasten to us for God’s sake :
“ for you know how much depends upon opportu-
“ nity, how much on dispatch. What diligence I
“ shall use in the care of your sister’s children you
“ will soon know, I hope, from your mother’s and
“ sister’s letters ; in whose cause I have more regard
“ to your will, which is ever most dear to me, than,
“ as some think, to my own constancy : but it is
“ my desire both to be and to appear constant in
“ nothing so much as in loving you *.”

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

“ I have read a part of your letter which you sent
“ to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus. Your
“ zeal and concern for my safety gave me no new
“ pleasure ; for it is not only common but our daily
“ news, to hear something which you have said or
“ done with your usual fidelity in the support of

* Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ my honour and dignity. Yet that same part of
“ your letter affected me with the most sensible grief
“ which my mind could possibly receive. For you
“ compliment him so highly for his services to the
“ republic ; and in a strain so suppliant and abject ;
“ that——what shall I say ?——I am ashamed of
“ the wretched state to which we are reduced——yet
“ it must be said——you recommend my safety to
“ him ; to which what death is not preferable ? and
“ plainly shew that our servitude is not yet abolish-
“ ed, but our master only changed. Recollect your
“ words, and deny them if you dare, to be the pray-
“ ers of a slave to his king. There is one thing,
“ you say, which is required and expected from him,
“ that he would allow those citizens to live in safe-
“ ty, of whom all honest men and the people of
“ Rome think well. But what if he will not allow
“ it ? Shall we be the less safe for that ? It is better
“ not to be safe, than to be saved by him. For my
“ part, I can never think all the gods so averse to
“ the preservation of the Roman people, that Octa-
“ vius must be intreated for the life of any one citi-
“ zen ; much less for the deliverers of the world. It
“ is a pleasure to me to talk thus magnificently ;
“ and it even becomes me to those who know not
“ either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of
“ any one. Can you allow Octavius to have this
“ power, and yet be his friend ? or, if you have any
“ value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome,
“ when I must first be recommended to the boy,
“ that he would permit me to be there ? what rea-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ son can you have to thank him, if you think it
“ necessary to beg of him that he would grant and
“ suffer us to live with safety? or is it to be reckoned
“ a kindness, that he chuses to see himself, rather
“ than Antony, in the condition to have such peti-
“ tions addressed to him? One may supplicate in-
“ deed the successor, but never the abolisher of a
“ tyranny, that those who have deserved well of the
“ republic may be safe. It was this weakness and
“ despair, not more blameable indeed in you than in
“ all, which first pushed Cæsar to the ambition of
“ reigning; and after his death encouraged Antony
“ to think of seizing his place, and has now raised
“ this boy so high that you judge it necessary to ad-
“ dress your prayers to him for the preservation of
“ men of our rank; and that we can be saved only
“ by the mercy of one scarce yet a man; and by no
“ other means. But if we had remembered our-
“ selves to be Romans, these infamous men would
“ not be more daring to aim at dominion, than we
“ to repel it: nor would Antony be more encou-
“ raged by Cæsar’s reign, than deterred by his fate.
“ How can you, a consular senator, and the avenger
“ of so many treasons (by suppressing which you
“ have but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a time)
“ reflect on what you have done, and yet approve
“ these things, or bear them so tamely as to seem at
“ least to approve them? for what particular grudge
“ had you at Antony? no other, but that he assum-
“ ed all this to himself; that our lives should be beg-
“ ged of him; our safety be precarious, from whom

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ he had received his liberty ; and the republic de-
“ pend on his will and pleasure. You thought it
“ necessary to take arms to prevent him from tyrannizing at this rate : but was it your intent that, by
“ preventing him, we might sue to another who
“ would suffer himself to be advanced into his place ;
“ or that the republic might be free and mistress of
“ itself ? as if our quarrel was not perhaps to slavery,
“ but to the conditions of it. But we might have
“ had, not only an easy master in Antony, if we would
“ have been content with that, but whatever share
“ with him we pleased, of favours and honours. For
“ what could he deny to those, whose patience, he
“ saw, was the best support of his government ? but
“ nothing was of such value to us, that we should
“ sell our faith and our liberty for it. This very boy,
“ whom the name of Cæsar seems to incite against
“ the destroyers of Cæsar, at what rate would he
“ value it (if there was any room to traffic with him)
“ to be enabled, by our help, to maintain his present
“ power ; since we have a mind to live, and to be
“ rich, and to be called consulars ? but then Cæsar
“ must have perished in vain : for what reason had
“ we to rejoice at his death, if, after it, we were still
“ to continue slaves ? Let other people be as indolent as they please ; but may the Gods and Goddesses deprive me sooner of every thing, than the
“ resolution, not to allow to the heir of him, whom
“ I killed, what I did not allow to the man himself :
“ nor would suffer, even in my father, were he living, to have more power than the laws and the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ senate. How can you imagine, that any one can
“ be free under him, without whose leave there is no
“ place for us in that city? or, how is it possible for
“ you, after all, to obtain what you ask? You ask,
“ that he would allow us to be safe. Shall we then
“ receive safety, think you, when we receive life?
“ but how can we receive it, if we first part with our
“ honour and liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at
“ Rome is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the
“ place, which must secure that to me: for I was
“ never safe, while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved
“ on that attempt: nor can I in any place live in
“ exile, as long as I hate slavery and affronts above
“ all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into
“ the same state of darkness; when he, who has
“ taken upon him the name of the tyrant, (though
“ in the cities of Greece, when the tyrants are des-
“ troyed, their children also perish with them), must
“ be entreated, that the avengers of tyranny may be
“ safe? Can I ever wish to see that city, or think
“ it a city, which would not accept liberty when
“ offered, and even forced upon it, but has more
“ dread of the name of their late king, in the person
“ of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has
“ seen that very king taken off in the height of all
“ his power by the virtue of a few? As for me, do
“ not recommend me any more to your Cæsar, nor
“ indeed yourself, if you will hearken to me. You
“ set a very high value on the few years which re-
“ main to you at that age, if, for the sake of them,
[“ you can supplicate that boy. But take care, after

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.--C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ all, lest what you have done and are doing so
“ laudably against Antony, instead of being praised,
“ as the effect of a great mind, be charged to the
“ account of your fear. For, if you are so pleased
“ with Octavius, as to petition him for our safety,
“ you will be thought not to have disliked a master,
“ but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to
“ your praising him for the things that he has hither-
“ to done, I entirely approve of it : for they deserv-
“ ed to be praised, provided that he undertook them
“ to repel other mens power, not to advance his
“ own. But, when you adjudge him not only to
“ have this power, but that you ought to submit to
“ it so far, as to entreat him that he would not des-
“ troy us ; you pay him too great a recompense :
“ for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the
“ republic seemed to enjoy through him : nor does
“ it ever enter into your thoughts, that, if Octavius
“ be worthy of any honours, because he wages war
“ with Antony ; that those, who extirpated the very
“ evil, of which these are but the relicks, can never
“ be sufficiently requited by the Roman people ;
“ though they were to heap upon them every thing
“ which they could bestow : but see how much
“ stronger peoples fears are, than their memories,
“ because Antony still lives, and is in arms. As to
“ Cæsar, all that could and ought to be done, is past,
“ and cannot be recalled : is Octavius, then, a per-
“ son of so great importance, that the people of Rome
“ are to expect from him what he will determine
“ upon us ? or are we of so little, that any single

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ man is to be entreated for our safety? As for me,
“ may I never return to you, if ever I either suppli-
“ cate any man, or do not restrain those, who are
“ disposed to do it, from supplicating for themselves:
“ or I will remove to a distance from all such, who
“ can be slaves, and fancy myself at Rome, where-
“ ever I can live free; and shall pity you, whose
“ fond desire of life, neither age, nor honours, nor
“ the example of other mens virtue, can moderate.
“ For my part, I shall ever think myself happy, as
“ long as I can please myself with the persuasion,
“ that my piety has been fully requited. For what
“ can be happier, than for a man, conscious of vir-
“ tuous acts, and content with liberty, to despise all
“ human affairs? Yet I will never yield to those
“ who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by those,
“ who are willing to be conquered themselves; but
“ will first try and attempt every thing; nor ever
“ desist from dragging our city out of slavery. If
“ such fortune attends, as I ought to have, we shall
“ all rejoice: if not, I shall rejoice myself. For how
“ could this life be spent better, than in acts and
“ thoughts, which tend to make my countrymen
“ free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert
“ the cause through weariness or diffidence: in re-
“ pelling present evils, have your eye always on the
“ future, lest they insinuate themselves before you
“ are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and cou-
“ rage with which you delivered the republic, when
“ consul, and now again when consular, are nothing
“ without constancy and equability. The case of

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.....C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

“ tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried : we
 “ require services from it, as debts; and, if any thing
 “ disappoints us, we blame with resentment, as if we
 “ had been deceived. Wherefore, for Cicero to with-
 “ stand Antony, though it be a part highly com-
 “ mendable, yet, because such a consul seemed of
 “ course to promise us such a consular, no body won-
 “ ders at it : but, if the same Cicero, in the case of
 “ others, should waver at last in that resolution,
 “ which he exerted with such firmness and greatness
 “ of mind against Antony, he would deprive himself,
 “ not only of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit
 “ even that which is past : for nothing is great in
 “ itself, but what flows from the result of our judg-
 “ ment : nor does it become any man, more than
 “ you, to love the republic, and to be the patron of
 “ liberty, on the account either of your natural ta-
 “ lents, or your former acts, or the wishes and ex-
 “ pectation of all men. Octavius, therefore, must
 “ not be entreated to suffer us to live in safety. Do
 “ you rather rouse yourself so far, as to think that
 “ city, in which you have acted the noblest part,
 “ free and flourishing, as long as there are leaders
 “ still to the people, to resist the designs of trai-
 “ tors *.”

* Ad Brut. 16.

N. B.—There is a passage, indeed, in Brutus's letter to Atticus, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against Cicero, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true ; “ that Cicero had reproached Casca with the
 “ murder of Cæsar, and called him an assassin. I do not know,”
 says he, “ what I can write to you but this, that the ambition

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

If we compare these two letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honours to himself, yet allowing none to any body else ; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years ; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the Stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances : that a wise man has a suf-

“and licentiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than “restrained by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to such “a length, as not to refrain from abuses upon Casca, and such, “as must return doubly upon himself, who has put to death more “citizens than one, and must first own himself to be an assassin, “before he can reproach Casca with what he objects to him.” (Ep. ad Brut. 17.) Manutius professes himself unable to conceive, how Cicero should ever call Casca a murderer ; yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word that Cicero had been saying, and every act that he had been doing, from the time of Cæsar's death : and, in relation particularly to Casca, we have seen above, how he refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the Tribunate : it is certain, therefore, that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning of some saying, which was never intended by him ; in advising Casca perhaps to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an assassin, and treat him as such : for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of stabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

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ficiency of all things within himself. There are indeed many noble sentiments in it worthy of old Rome, which Cicero, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he ; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical ; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practise what he professed ; but was too apt to forget both the Stoic and the Roman.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the city, and subdued the senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus, who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him ; which had been privately concerted, for settling the terms of a *triple league*, and dividing the power and provinces of the empire among themselves. All the *Three* were natural enemies to each other ; competitors for empire ; and aiming severally to possess, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest : their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and, with common forces, to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the republic ; without which, all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The place appointed for the interview, was a small island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus, Q. Pedius.

river Rhenus, which runs near to the city* : here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and, when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by three hundred of their own men. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and, when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honourable place, on the account of his being consul.

In this situation, they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, that the *Three* should be invested jointly with supreme power for the term of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs, for settling the state of the republic*: that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the magistrates and governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should

* Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 28. p. 187.

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have for his peculiar province, Afric and Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narbonese Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls, on both sides of the Alps: and, to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius should resign the consulship to Ventidius for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Octavius should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, each of them at the head of twenty legions; and Lepidus with three legions be left to guard the city: and, at the end of the war, that eighteen cities or colonies, the best and richest of Italy, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the perpetual possession of the soldiers, as the reward of their faithful services. These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their chiefs; which, at the desire of the soldiers, was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted, was the list of a *Proscription*, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests amongst them; till each of them in his turn consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of *three hundred senators, and two*

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thousand knights ; all doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants, their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general list to their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious ; the heads of the republican party, about *seventeen* in all ; the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction ; and sent their emissaries away directly to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger : four of this number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends ; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples ; which presently filled the city with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy : so that the consul Pedius was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds, and appease the fears of the people ; and, as soon as it was light, published the names of the *seventeen* who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others : but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that *he died the day following* *.

We have no hint from any of Cicero's letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of the *Three Chiefs*, or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee, that it must needs be fatal

* App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. et Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But, whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in Macedonia; but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it *a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps**: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old historians endeavour to persuade us, that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his colleagues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him†: but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed, to give the better colour to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the *Three*: Those who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy, and experience

* Reipub. vicem delebo, quæ immortalis esse debet: mihi quidem quantum reliqui est? (Ad Brut. x.) ἵναν ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: (Ad Att. 14. 22.) sed abesse hanc ætatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere. Ib. 16. 7.

† Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

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had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

Cæsar therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest; and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself more cruel and bloody in urging the proscription than either of the other two*. Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man, or that Cicero especially should be proscribed by him†. But there was no force in the case; for though, to save Cæsar's honour, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paulus, and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list, yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations‡.

If we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of these *Triumvirs*, we shall see Antony roused at once by Cæsar's death from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigour and address; till, after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of, whom he employed very successful-

* Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

† Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Cæsar aliquem proscribere coactus est, aut ab illo Cicero proscriptus est. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

‡ Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

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ly at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the Alps, that, in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management, he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that, by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself probably the sole master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered was, to admit two partners with him into the empire, the one of whom at least he was sure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: He had great parts and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succeed immediately to his uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant till he should be more ripe for it, and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body else. With this view, he acted the *republican* with great gravity, put himself under the direction of Cicero, and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony, and drive him out of Italy, who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paused a while, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest; when, by the unexpected death of the two consuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising a-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

gain the stronger from his fall, he saw presently that his best chance for empire was, to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole ; and, from the same policy with which he joined himself with the republic to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppress the republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

Lepidus was the dupe of them both ; a vain, weak, inconstant man, incapable of empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it ; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin both of his country and himself. His wife was the sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance ; for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus, to oppress Antony and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first citizen of a free republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory : He flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share of empire ; not considering, that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it ; in which, as his colleagues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case, when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.—Coss. C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

twenty legions, and deposed him from that dignity which he knew not how to sustain *.

Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, with his brother and nephew, when he first received the news of the proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution, in order to surprise those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it, upon which he set forward presently, with his brother and nephew, towards Astura, the nearest villa which he had upon the sea, with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus, being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero, in the mean while, found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked; but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at Circæum, and spent a night near that place in great anxiety and irresolution: The question was, what course he should steer, and whether he should fly to Brutus or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but, after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient

§ Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

of dying * : So that, as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of returning to the city, *and killing himself in Cæsar's house*, in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude ; but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to Cajeta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa, about a mile from the coast, weary of life and the sea, and declaring, “ that he would die in that country which “ he had so often saved †.” Here he slept soundly for several hours, though, as some writers tell us, “ a “ great number of crows were fluttering all the while, “ and making a strange noise about his windows, as “ if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate ; “ and that one of them made its way into the cham- “ ber, and pulled away his very bed-cloaths, till his “ slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed “ to see brute creatures more solicitous for his safety “ than themselves, forced him into his litter, or por- “ table chair,” and carried him away towards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods, having just heard that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the villa. As soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house, and perceiving him to be fled, pursued

* Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

† Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit ; regressusque ad superiorem villam. quæ paulo plus mille passibus a mari abest, *moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata.* Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a tribune, or colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own; but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance*; then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bade them do their work, and take what they wanted; upon which they presently cut off his head, and both his hands, and returned with them, in all haste and great joy, towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head which had saved his own†: He found Antony in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crouds of people; but, upon shewing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered *the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two hands*; a

* Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad demicandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, et quietos pati, quod sors iniqua cogeret, jussisse. Liv. Fragment. ibid.

† Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est. Nequi ei scelestum portanti onus succurrit, illud se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

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sad spectacle to the city, and what drew tears from every eye, to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. The deaths of the rest, says an historian of that age, caused only a private and particular sorrow, but Cicero's an universal one *: It was a triumph over the republic itself, and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and, satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the proscription at an end.

He was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days †.

* *Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem.* [Cremutius Cordus, apud Senec.] *Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videretur.* L. Flor. 4. c.

† Vid. Plutar. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.

SECTION XI.

THE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages ; and was delivered down to posterity, with all its circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their history ; so that the spot on which it happened seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence *. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony ; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus, which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him by the writers of that age ; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by Horace or Virgil. For, though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court poets, since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the prince, especially while Antony lived ; among the sycophants of whose court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent : Nay, Virgil, on an occasion that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence

* Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti et Antonio occidenti, videmur irasci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Καίρων--φεύγων ἐφ' ἴδιον χάριον ὁ καθ' ἑσπεραν τῆδε τῇ πάδῃς εἶδον.
App. p. 600.

to the Greeks, which they themselves had been forced to yield to Cicero*.

Livy, however, whose candour made Augustus call him a Pompeian †, while, out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet, after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, "that to praise him as he deserved, required "the eloquence of Cicero himself ‡." Augustus too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said, "this was a learned man, my "child, and a lover of his country ||."

In the succeeding generation, as the particular en-
vy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom
private interests and personal quarrels had engaged
to hate him when living, and defame him when dead,
so his name and memory began to shine out in its

* Orabunt causas melius, &c. *Æn.* 6. 849.

† T. Livius—Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret. *Tacit. Ann.* 4. 34.

‡ Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. *Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suasor.* 6.

|| *Plutar. Vit. Cicer.* There is another story of the same kind, recorded by Macrobius, to shew Augustus's moderation with regard also to Cato: That Augustus being one day in the house which had belonged to Cato, where the master of it, out of compliment to his great guest, took occasion to reflect on Cato's perverseness, he stopped him short by saying, *that he who would suffer no change in the constitution of his city, was a good citizen, and honest man*: But, by this character of Cato's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not only changed but usurped the government of his country. *Macrobi. Saturn.* 2. 4.

proper lustre ; and, in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent senator and historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death : " Thou hast done nothing, Antony ; hast done nothing, I say, by setting a price on that divine and illustrious head, and, by a detestable reward, procuring the death of so great a consul and preserver of the republic. Thou hast snatched from Cicero a troublesome being ; a declining age ; a life more miserable under thy domination than death itself ; but, so far from diminishing the glory of his deeds and sayings, thou hast increased it. He lives, and will live in the memory of all ages ; and, as long as this system of nature, whether by chance or providence, or what way soever formed, which he alone, of all the Romans ; comprehended in his mind, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall remain entire, it will draw the praises of Cicero along with it ; and all posterity will admire his writings against thee ;—curse thy act against him——*."

From this period, all the Roman writers, whether poets or historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illustrious of all their patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence ; who had done more honour to his country by his writings than all their conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of his learning

* Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

beyond those of their empire *. So that their very emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior deities †: A rank which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honour and title of a saint ‡.

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of chearfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect §. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigour. The care that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens, for the refreshment of his voice from the labour of the bar ||: yet, in the

* *Facundiae, latiarumque literarum parens—atque—omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quam imperii.* Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vincemur. Vell. Pat. 2. 34.

† Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

‡ Quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceronian. vers. finem.

§ Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem. prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

|| Cum recreandae voculae causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 23. Plutar. in vit.

summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villas in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these, he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and, when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting †.

In his clothes and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of offices, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence, and foppish delicacy §: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in

† Cum quidem biduum ita jejunis fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustaram. Ep. fam. 7. 26. vid. Plutar.

§ Adhibenda munditia non odiosa, neque exquisita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agrestem et inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus: in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est. De offic. 1. 36.

the senate and the forum ||. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when, by their fidelity and services, they had recommended themselves to his favour. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro; whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his letters to Atticus, "I have nothing more," says he, "to write; and my mind indeed is somewhat ruffled at present, for Sositheus, my reader, is dead, a hopeful youth; which has afflicted me more than one would imagine the death of a slave ought to do*."

He entertained very high notions of friendship; and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject; where he lays down no other rules than what he exemplified by his practice. For, in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a sordid traffic and merchandize of

|| Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, et filiola, et mellito Cicerone consumitur. Ad Att. i. 18.

* Nam puer festivus, anagnostes noster, Sosithæus decesserat, meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. i. 12.

benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss†. He calls gratitude *the mother of virtues*; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, *grateful and good*, as terms synonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them‡; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, “of doing every thing for his friends, that they “no longer requested, but claimed a right to com-
“mand him §.”

Yet he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and, though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet, when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and, whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of

† Ubi illa sancta amicitia? si non ipse amicus per se amatur tato pectore. (de leg. i. 18.) quam si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erat ista amicitia, sed mercatura quædam utilitatum suarum. De Nat. Deor. i. 44.

‡ Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, tamen nihil est quod malim, quam me et gratum esse et videri. Est enim hæc una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutem omnium—quæ potest esse jucunditas vitæ sublatiis amicitiiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

§ Nam quod ita consuesti pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. fam. 6. 7.

which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be “ more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability ; and laid it down for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing ; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it :” and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, “ that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal ||.”

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character ; splendid and noble : his house was open to all the learned strangers and philosophers of Greece and Asia ; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him *. His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks ; even Pompey himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not only to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the senate or the forum ; where, upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again : but, on ordinary days,

|| Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacessierit, injuriæ suæ pænitere. (de off. 1. xi.) nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate et clementia. Ibid. 25.

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones.—Fragment. Cic. ex Marcellino.

Neque vero me pænitet mortales inimicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Post 11.

* Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit, et Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico ; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

when these morning visits were over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure †. His supper was his greatest meal; and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in Rome to this day ‡.

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of chearful entertainments, being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery §: a talent

† Cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus amicorum descendimus.—Ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit, literis me involvo—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28.

Post horam quartam molesti cæteri non sunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

‡ Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, et lubricationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

§ Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus. (Ep. fam. 9. 15.) Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque
animorum,

which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary ; relieve the satiety of a tedious cause ; divert the minds of the judges ; and mitigate the rigour of a sentence, by making both the bench and audience merry at the expence of the accuser ||.

This use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials ; but in private conversations, he was charged sometimes with pushing his raillery too far ; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted *. Yet, of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters either ridiculous or profligate ; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices ; and, though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviiis dulcissimus—(Ib. 24.) convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, et gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. Ib. 26.

|| Suavis est et vehementer sæpe utilis jocus et facetiæ—multum in causis persæpe lepore et facetiis profici vidi. De Or. 2. 54.

Quæ risum judicis movendo et illos tristes solvit affectus, et animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, et aliquando etiam reficit, et a satietate vel a fatigatione renovat. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

* Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator—ibid. vid. Plutar.

It is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in Rome in his life-time *; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to Cicero himself †. Cæsar likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the apothegms, or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company ‡. But Tiro, Cicero's freedman, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published, after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings, in three books: where Quintilian however wishes that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them §. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the

* Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri. Ep. fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

† Liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt, narrante te, venustissima. Ep. fam. 15. 21.

‡ Audio Cæsarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθηνμάτων, si quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere solere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

§ Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulisset—et plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset. Quintil. 1. 6. c. 3.

same judicious critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold then, and insipid, must they appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humour, and taste of wit in that age? Yet even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them*.

He had a great number of fine houses in different parts of Italy; some writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-seat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples, and, for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation, are called by him the eyes or the beauties of Italy†. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum; his Formian, Cuman, Puteolan and Pompeian villas; all of them

* Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. Ibid. vid etiam Macrobi. Sat. 2. 1.

† Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, et belle ædificatis, et satis amœnis consumi potuit, in peregrinatione consumimus-- [ad Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italiæ, villulas meas non video? ib. 6.

large enough for the reception, not only of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests, many of whom of the first quality used to pass several days with him in their excursions from Rome. But besides these that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several little inns, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accommodation in passing from one house to another*.

His Tusculan house had been Sylla's, the dictator; and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marsic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a volunteer †: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful hill, covered with the villas of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the city and the country around it; with plenty of water flowing through his grounds in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the corporation of Tusculum ‡. Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour from the fatigues of the bar or the senate, to breathe a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family: so that this was the place in which he took most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses ||.

* Ego accepi in Diversoriolo Sinuessano, tuas literas. Ad Att. 14. 8.

† Idque etiam in villa sua Tusculana, quæ postea fuit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22. 6.

‡ Ego Tusculanis pro aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a municipio fundum accepi—Con. Rull. 3. 2.

|| Quæ mihi antea signa misisti—ea omnia in Tusculanum de-

When a greater satiety of the city, or a longer vacation in the forum, disposed him to seek a calmer scene and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the city. Astura was a little island at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two leagues farther towards the south, between the promontaries of Antium and Circaëum, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude and a severe retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the height of summer, the mansion-house at Arpinum, and the little island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where, in the greatest that he had ever remember-

portabo.—[Ad Att. i. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus et molestiis uno illo in loco conquiescimus.—[ib. 5.] Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus.—[ib 6.]

The situation of this Tusculan house, which had been built perhaps by Sylla, confirms what Seneca has observed of the villas of all the other great captains of Rome, Marius, Pompey, Cæsar; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find; it being thought more military to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp rather than a villa.—[Senec. Epist. 51.] But this delightful spot is now possessed by a convent of Monks, called Grotta Ferrata, where they still shew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

ed, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his Fibrenus*.

His other villas were situated in the more public parts of Italy, where all the best company of Rome had their houses of pleasure. He had two at Formiæ, a lower and upper villa; the one near to the port of Cajeta, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of Baiæ, between the lake Avernus and Puteoli, which he calls his Puteolan: a fourth on the hills of old Cumæ, called his Cuman villa; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples, in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan house was built after the plan of the academy at Athens, and called by that name, being adorned with a portico and a grove for the same use of philosophical conferences. Some time after his death, it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it, when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed-men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime lingue
Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque academïæ celebratam nomine villam
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.

* Ego ex magnis caloribus non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, summa cum amœnitate fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori

Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.

Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,

Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ*.

Where groves once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,
Great parent of the eloquence of Rome,
And where thy academy, favourite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat,
A gushing stream bursts out, of wondrous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew,
Repays this honour to his memory due,
That since his works throughout the world are spread,
And with such eagerness by all are read,
New springs of healing quality should rise,
To ease the encrease of labour to the eyes.

The furniture of his houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste and the magnificence of his buildings; his galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian masters; and his

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2.

This villa was afterwards an imperial palace, possessed by the emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it, where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his little, pallid, frightened, fluttering soul [1]; which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness [2].

[1] Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Ælii Spartian. Vit. Hadr. 25.

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud superos quietam vitam agere.—Erasm. Proem. in Tusc. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatten.

vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a cedar table of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds*. He thought it the part of an eminent citizen, to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the Appian road, that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

The reader, perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expence of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses; but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome were, first, the public magistracies and provincial commands; secondly, the presents of kings, princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection: And, though no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than Cicero, yet, to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vi-

* Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, et quod magis mirum est, illo ævo empta H. S. X. [Plin. Hist. N. 13. 15.] nullius ante Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est. ib. 16.

cious pleasures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expences*: For, in his province of Cilicia, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use, yet, at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of the publicans in Asia near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his government, and remitted to him afterwards at Rome †. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him, the legacies of deceased friends. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the clients and dependents of families to bequeath, at their death, to their patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honour of Lucullus, that, while he governed Asia as proconsul, many great estates were left to him by will ‡: And Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, that he succeeded to many inheritances of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account than of his friendly and amiable temper ||. Cicero had his full share of

* *Parva sunt, quæ desunt nostris quidem moribus, & ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. Ad. Quint. 2. 15.*

† *Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.*

‡ *Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. Pr. Flacc. 34.*

|| *Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. Vit. Attic. 21.*

these testamentary donations, as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his letters *; and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this single article about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends, not the forged wills of persons unknown to him, with which he charged Antony †.

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice, but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the most licentious and profligate ‡. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions which engross little souls—avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: This is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works, where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit wherever it was found, whether in the ancients

* Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. Pr. Mil. 18.

† Hereditates mihi negasti venire—ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli—me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit heredem—te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam. Phil. 2. 16.

‡ Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum sed etiam casta. Erasm. Epist. ad Jo. Ullaten.

or his contemporaries—whether in Greeks or Romans; and verifying a maxim which he had declared in a speech to the senate, “That no man could be “envious of another’s virtue, who was conscious of “his own*.”

His sprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favour of the ladies, whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom, of the first quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers, or relations, who were absent from Rome: Yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocos account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit of the first class, when the famed courtesan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius’s slave, and was then his mistress, made one of the company at table; where, after several jokes on that incident, he says, “That he never suspected “that she would have been of the party; and, though “he was always a lover of cheerful entertainments, “yet nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when “young, much less now when he was old†.” There was one lady, however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters, on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been seventy years old. She is fre-

* Declarasti verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, *neminem alterius, qui suæ confideret, virtuti invidere.* Phil. x. i. vid. Plutar.

† Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. Fam. 9. 26.

quently mentioned in Cicero's Letters, as a lover of books and philosophy, and, on that account, as fond of his company and writings; but while, out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet, by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him*.

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguine in prosperity, too desponding in adversity; and apt to persuade himself in each fortune, that it would never have an end†. This is Pollio's account of him: which seems in general to be true; Brutus touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him, and when things were going prosperously against Antony, puts him gently in mind, that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes‡; and he himself allows the second, and says, that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst rather than hoping the best, he was the man;

* *Mirifice Cærellia, studio videlicet philosophiæ flagrans, describit a tuis: Istos ipsos de finibus habet—[ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile satisfeci; nec valde laborare visa est: & si illa, ego certe non laborarem. Ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.*

† *Utinam moderatius secundas res, & fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utriusque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Asin. Pol. apud Sen. Suasor. 6.*

‡ *Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihi que merito & meo nomine & reipub. carissime, minis credere videris spei tuæ—Brut. ad Cic. 4.*

and if that was a fault, confesses himself not to be free from it *; yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such he tells us, as shewed itself rather in foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them; an explication which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution †.

But the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the *love of glory* and *thirst of praise*; a passion, that he not only avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, to a degree even of vanity ‡. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance ||; while the forwardness that he shewed to celebrate his own merits in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source

* Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans fecundos, is ego sum: & si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. fam. 6. 14.

† Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. 1. 12. 1.

‡ Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis. & non ἀφιλοδοξον, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ. Ep. fam. 9. 14.

|| Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius prædicare—Pro Dom. 35.

from which the passion itself flowed, and explain the nature of that glory, of which he professes himself so fond.

True glory, then, according to his own definition of it, is “a wide and illustrious fame of many and
“great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind *: it is not, (he
“says,) the empty blast of popular favour, or the
“applause of a giddy multitude, which all wise men
“had ever despised, and none more than himself, but
“the consenting praise of all honest men, and the
“incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit, which resounds always to virtue, as
“the echo to the voice;” and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory, were not to expect “ease or pleasure, or tranquillity
“of life for their pains; but must give up their own
“to secure the peace of others, must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good;
“sustain many battles with the audacious and the
“wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short,
“must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens
“cause to rejoice that they had ever been born †.”

* Si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.—Pro Marcel. 8.

† Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum.—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Est enim gloria—consentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de eccellente virtute: ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. quæst. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ sola vera gloria nomi-

This is the notion that he inculcates every where of *true glory*: which is surely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable, that history has to offer to us. through all the ages of the heathen world. There is not an instance, says Cicero, of a man's exerting himself ever with praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to posterity *. "Give me a boy," says Quintilian, "whom praise excites, whom glory warms:" for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline †. "Whether posterity will have any respect for me," says Pliny, "I know not; but am sure that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it ‡.

nari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimiciæ, subeundæ sæpe pro repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, non nunquam etiam potentibus dimicandum. Pro. Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligî, gloriosum est—quare ita gubernare rempub. ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant: sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quisquam esse potest. Phil. 1. 14.

* Neque quisquam nostrum in reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin spe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro. C. Rabir. x.

† Mihi detur ille puer, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu—in hoc desidiam nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

‡ Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe meremur, ut sit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; sed studio, sed labore, sed reverentia posterum. Plin. Ep.

It will not seem strange, to observe the wisest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well spent life*; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that which seemed to be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that, though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of future ages; nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as the name of *Rome* subsists, or as long as learning, virtue, and liberty, preserve any

* Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur. —Pro Mil. 35.

credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from his boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the senate and people, though it may appear to the common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not only excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence of his councils: he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and malice of all those who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the senate and people, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merits and good effects of his councils; in order to confirm the people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those who were employing all arts to subvert them. “The frequent commemoration of his acts, says Quintilian, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures when they were attacked †”:

† *Vigesimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unam petunt.*
Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

and this is what Cicero himself declared in all his speeches; “that no man ever heard him speak of himself but when he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real services: and if ever he said any thing glorious of himself, it was not through a fondness of praise, but to repel an accusation*: that no man who had been conversant in great affairs, and treated with particular envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, without touching upon his own praises; and, after all his labours for the common safety, if a just indignation had not drawn from him at any time what might seem to be vain-glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him†: that when others were silent about him, if he could not then forbear to speak of himself, that indeed would be shameful; but when he was injured, accused, exposed to popular odium, he must certainly be allowed to assert his liberty, if they would not suffer him to retain his dignity‡”. This then was the true state

At plerumque illud quoque none sine aliqua ratione fecit.— Ut illorum, quæ egerat in consulatu frequens commemoratio, possit videri non gloriæ magis quam defensionis data—plerumque contra inimicos atque obrectatores plus vindicat sibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

* Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem?—dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius asciscendæ laudis causa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

† Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia versatis, satis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, sine sua laude respondere?—

Quamquam si me tantis laboribus pro communi salute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignosceret?—de Harus. resp. 8.

‡ Si, cum cæteri de nobis silent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tace-

of the case, as it is evident from the facts of his history; he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion which, for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to see every conceited pedant, and trifling declaimer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and less still of their own, presuming to call him the vainest of mortals.

But there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprizing extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the senator; and, by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget that he was the greatest magistrate also of Rome. We learn our Latin from him at school; our stile and sentiments at the college; here the generality take their leave of him, and seldom think of him more, but as of an orator, a moralist, or philosopher of antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on

mus, grave. Sed si lædimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

its proportion and relation to the rest ; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable ; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first statesman of a mighty empire : his abilities as a statesman are glorious ; yet surprize is still more, when they are observed in the ablest scholar and philosopher of his age : but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature*.

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science and the politer arts ; in oratory, poetry, philosophy, law, history, criticism, politics, ethics ; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time—in some of them excelled all men of all times†. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published ; and, though many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity ; and, like the Sibylline books, if more of them

* Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere. Pro Arch. 7.

† M. Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc posuit—(A. Gell. 1. 22.) M. Tullius non modo inter agendum nunquam est destitutus scientia juris, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. (Quintil. 12. 3) At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days : This was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost ; but what other people gave to the public shews, to pleasures, to feasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge*. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his scribes who attended him †. We find many of his letters dated before day-light ; some from the senate, others from his meals and the crowd of his morning levee ‡.

* Quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ipsam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum ; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis ; quantum denique aleæ quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumsero —Pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, has ego scripsi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. —Pro Planc. 27.

† Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis tempus fere confero. (Ad Quint. 3. 3.) Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ vocalæ causa mihi necesse esset ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad. Att. 2. 23.

‡ Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. (Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.) Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, somno repetito, simul cum sole expectectus essem. Ad Att. 13. 38.

No compositions afford more pleasure than the epistles of great men : They touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds ; but there never was a collection that excelled so much in every kind as Cicero's, for the purity of stile, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concerned in them. We have about *a thousand* still remaining, all written after he was *forty* years old, which are but a small part, not only of what he wrote, but of what were actually published after his death by his servant Tiro. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the ancients, which are utterly lost ; as the first book of his Letters to Licinius Calvus ; the first also to Q. Axius ; a second book to his son ; a second also to Corn. Nepos ; a third book to J. Cæsar ; a third to Octavius ; and a third also to Pansa ; an eighth book to M. Brutus ; and a ninth to A. Hir- tius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæsar and Brutus, we have nothing more left than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old critics and grammarians||. What makes these letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them ; for, the year before his death, when Atticus was making some inquiry about them,

Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa. (Ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.)
Hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. Ad Brut. 1. 2. 4.

|| See the fragments of his letters in the editions of his works.

he sent him word, that he had made no collection, and that Tiro had preserved only about seventy*. Here then we may expect to see the genuine man, without disguise or affectation, especially in his letters to Atticus, to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself, opened the rise and progress of each thought, and never entered into any affair without his particular advice; so that these may be considered as *the memoirs of his times*, containing the most authentic materials for the history of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it†: And it is the want of attention to them that makes the generality of writers on these times so superficial, as well as erroneous, while they chuse to transcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the latter Greek historians, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one who is a principal actor in them.

In his familiar letters he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from common use and the language of conversation‡. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out what came uppermost; nor disdaining even a pun, when it served to

* *Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή.* Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

† Quæ qui legat non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum. vitiis duum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non apparet. Corn. Nep. vitt. Att. 16.

‡ Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. fam. 9. 21.

make his friends laugh †. In letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction; yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness, though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy both in taste and manners. In his political letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things; he always touches the point on which the affair turns, foresees the danger, and fortells the mischief, which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counsels, of which there were so many instances, that, as an eminent writer of his own time observed of him, his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened with the veracity of a prophet *. But none of his letters do him more credit than those of the recommendatory kind; the others shew his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and

* *Quicquid in buccam venerit.* Ad. Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for publishing one of his letters to him, "How many jests," says he, "are often found in private letters, which, if made public, might be thought foolish and impertinent?" Phil. 2. 4.

† *Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem.* Non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

force of words of which he was master, and alleges generally some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honour was concerned in the success of it*.

But his letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the only monuments of that sort which remain to us from free Rome. They breathe the last words of expiring liberty, a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of its ruin, to rouse up all the virtue that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage which they derive from

* An objection may possibly be made to my character of these letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a proconsul of Afric, wherein he intimates, that there was a private mark agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his letters, would signify what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he desired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13. 6.] But that seems to relate only to the particular case of one man, who, having great affairs in Afric, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to Cicero and the proconsul; whose general concerns, however, he recommends in that letter with the utmost warmth and affection. But if he had used the same method with all the other proconsuls and foreign commanders, it seems not only reasonable, but necessary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favour was perpetually solicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own sake, and those whose recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others, which was frequently the case, as he himself declares in these very letters. "Your regard for me," says he, "is so publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. But though I give them sometimes to men of no consequence, yet, for the most part, it is to my real friends." Again, "Our friendship, and your affection to me, is so illustrious, that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to you: but, though it is my duty to wish well to all whom I recommend, yet I do not live upon the same foot of friendship with them all," &c. Ep. fam. 13. 70. 71.

this circumstance will easily be observed by comparing them with the epistles of the best and greatest who flourished afterwards in imperial Rome. Pliny's letters are justly admired by men of taste ; they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine gentleman ; yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life, there is nothing important in politics ; no great affairs explained ; no account of the motives of public counsels : he had borne all the same offices with Cicero, whom in all points he affected to emulate* ; yet his honours were in effect but nominal, conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will ; and, with the old titles of consul and proconsul, we want still the statesman, the politician, and the magistrate. In his provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with supreme authority, and had kings attendant on his orders, Pliny durst not venture to repair a bath, or punish a fugitive slave, or incorporate a company of masons, till he had first consulted and obtained the leave of Trajan †.

His historical works are all lost : “ the Commentaries of his Consulship,” in Greek ; “ the history of his own affairs, to his return from exile,” in Latin

* *Lætariis, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem æmulari in studiis cupio.* Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

† *Prusenses, Domine, balneum habent et sordidum et vetus, id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant.* Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, consulerem de modo pœnæ. Ib. 38.

Tu, domine, despicere an instituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, duntaxat hominum cl. Ib. 42.

“verse; and his Anecdotes;” as well as the pieces, that he published on *natural history*; of which Pliny quotes one, upon the *wonders of nature*; and another upon *perfumes* *. He was meditating likewise a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory also to his country; of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans †. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best that can be formed, for the design of a perfect history.

“He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, or fear to say any thing that was true; nor give any just suspicion either of favour or disaffection: that, in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain the councils, then the acts, lastly, the events: that in the councils, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, should shew what

* Cicero in admirandis posuit, &c. Plin. Hist. N. 31. 2. Quod admirandis suis inseruit M. Cicero. Ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur; unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum sapiant. Hist. N. 13. 3. 17. 5.

† Postulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius Historia: sic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—ab est enim historia literis nostris—de Leg. 1. 2. 3.

“ share, chance, or rashness, or prudence had in them :
“ that in regard to persons, he should describe, not
“ only their particular actions, but the lives and cha-
“ racters of all those who bear an eminent part in
“ the story : that he should illustrate the whole in a
“ clear, easy, natural stile ; flowing with a perpetual
“ smoothness, and equability ; free from the affecta-
“ tion of points and sentences, or the roughness of
“ judicial pleadings *.”

We have no remains likewise of his poetry, except some fragments occasionally interspersed through his other writings ; yet these, as I have before observed, are sufficient to convince us, that his poetical genius, if it had been cultivated with the same care, would not have been inferior to his oratorical. The two arts are so nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to imply a capacity for the other ; the same qualities being essential to them both ; a sprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be polished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers ; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a mediocrity in poetry, so it quite eclipsed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a poet as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all ; especially in the courts of Antony and Augustus ; where it was a compliment to the sovereign, and a fashion consequently among

* De Orator 2. 15.

their flatterers,* to make his character ridiculous, wherever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses;

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among the most eminent of the Roman poets; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character †; and Quintilian seems to charge the cavils of his censures to a principle of malignity ‡. But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written in the best manner of that age in which he lived, and in the stile of Lucretius; whose poem he is said to have revised and corrected, for its publication, after Lucretius's death ||. This however is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated poets of his time ¶; of Accius, Archias, Chilias, Lucretius,

* Postea vero quam triumvirali proscriptione consumptus est, passim que oderant, qui invidabant, qui æmulabantur, adulatorum etiam præsentis potentix, non responsuram invaserunt. *Quin.* 12. 10.

† Sed ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium—*Ep.* 1. 5. 3.

‡ In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quæ non desierunt carpere maligni. *Quint.* xi. 1.

|| *Euseb. Chronic.*

¶ Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate poetarum ingenia fovisse. *Plin. Ep.* 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta audire sum solitus. (*Brut.* 197.) Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, ut multæ tamen artis. *Ad Quint.* 2. xi. *Vid. ad Att.* 1. 9, 16.

Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favour, that he had received from him.

Tully, most eloquent by far
Of all, who have been, or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the sons of Rome,
To thee Catullus grateful sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other poets, he as thou
All other patrons dost excel,
In power of words and speaking well *.

But poetry was the amusement only, and relief of his other studies: eloquence was his distinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that, as a polite historian observes, Rome had but few orators before him, whom it could praise; none whom it could admire †. Demosthenes was the pattern by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit, what St Jerom calls that beautiful eloge; “ Demosthenes has snatch-

* *Disertissime Romuli nepotum,
Quod sunt, quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erunt in annis;
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit, pessimus omnium poeta
Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.*

† At oratio—ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis. Vell. Pat. i. 17.

“ed from thee the glory of being the first; thou
 “from Demosthenes, that of being the only orator†.”
 The genius, the capacity, the stile and manner of
 them both were much the same; their eloquence of
 that great, sublime, and comprehensive kind, which
 dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and
 beauty of which it was capable: it was that round-
 ness of speaking, as the ancients call it, where there
 was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing
 either to be added or retrenched: their perfections
 were, in all points, so transcendent, and yet so simi-
 lar, that the critics are not agreed on which side to
 give the preference: Quintilian indeed, the most
 judicious of them, has given it on the whole to Ci-
 cero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not
 all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it,
 the thunder of Demosthenes; he excelled him in
 the copiousness and elegance of his diction, the va-
 riety of his sentiments; and, above all, in the viva-
 city of his wit, and smartness of his raillery: De-
 mosthenes had nothing jocose or facetious in him;
 yet, by attempting sometimes to jest, shewed, that
 the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong
 to him: for, as Longinus says, whenever he affected
 to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous; and, if
 he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon
 himself. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of
 wit and ridicule, had the power always to please,

† Demosthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! quid quasi
 nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus? Brut. 417.

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium est; De-
 mosthenes tibi præripuit, ne esses primus orator; tu illi, ne solus.
 Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.

when he found himself unable to convince; and could put his judges into good humour, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that, by the opportunity of a well-timed joke, he is said to have preserved many of his clients from manifest ruin ‡.

Yet, in all this height and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of orators at the same time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowledged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly Attic or classical; some calling it loose and languid; others tumid and exuberant §. These men affected a minute and fastidious correctness; pointed sentences, short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of oratory consisted in a frugality of words, and in crowding our sentiments in the narrowest compass ||. The chief patrons of this taste were, M. Brutus, Licinius, Calvus, Asinius Pollio, and Sallust; whom Seneca seems to treat as the author of the obscure, abrupt,

‡ Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo—plerique Demostheni facultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, Ciceroni modum—nec videri potest noluisse Demosthenes, cujus pauca admodum dicta—ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in Cicerone fuisse urbanitas. (Quintil. l. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin de Sublim. c. 34.) Ut pro L. Flacco, quem reputandarum reum joci opportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exemit, &c. Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.

§ Constat nec Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans, et superfluens, et parum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

|| Mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse Atticos credunt, tenues et lucidos et significantes, sed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

and sententious stile *. Cicero often ridicules these pretenders to Attic elegance ; as judging of eloquence, not by the force of the art, but their own weakness ; and resolving to decry what they could not attain ; and to admire nothing, but what they could imitate † : and, though their way of speaking, he says, might please the ear of a critic or a scholar, yet it was not of that sublime and sonorous kind, whose end was not only to instruct, but to move an audience : an eloquence, born for the multitude ; whose merit was always shewn by it's effects, of exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause ; and on which there never was any difference of judgment between the learned and the populace ‡.

This was the genuine eloquence that prevailed in Rome as long as Cicero lived : his were the only speeches that were relished or admired by the city ; while those Attic orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised, and frequently deserted by the audience in the midst of their harangues §. But, after Cicero's death and the ruin of the republic,

* Sic Sallustio vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, et verba ante expectatum cadentia, et obscura brevitæ, fuere proculu. L. Sen. Epist. 114.

† Itaque nobis monendi sunt ii,—qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos, aut ipsi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demosthenem maxime—eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecillitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orator. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst. 2. 1.

‡ Sed ad Calvum revertamur: qui—metuens ne vitiosum colligerit, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris ; a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono oratore et non bono dictis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit, &c. Ibid. 297.

§ At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

the Roman oratory sunk of course with its liberty, and a false species universally prevailed : when, instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every subject, there succeeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind ; full of laboured turns and studied points ; and proper only for the occasion on which it was employed ; the making panegyrics, and servile compliments to their tyrants. This change of stile may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the younger Pliny ; who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated panegyric on the Emperor Trajan : which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of its compliments, so is become, in a manner, the standard of fine speaking to modern times : where it is common to hear the pretenders to criticism descanting on the tedious length and spiritless exuberance of the Ciceronian periods. But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of free Rome ; so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations ; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted : so that, as Quintilian declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much the name of a man, as of eloquence itself ||.

|| Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil. x. 1.

But we have hitherto been considering chiefly the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that philosophy, which he professed to follow as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from *the Academic sect*; which derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *Gymnasium*, or place of exercise in the suburbs of Athens, called *the Academy*; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations*. Socrates was the first who banished physics out of philosophy, which till his time had been the sole object of it; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of virtue and vice,

* Illi autem, qui Platonis instituto in Academia, quod est alterum gymnasium, cœtus erant et sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. *Academ. I. 4.*

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius calls *the noblest Gymnasium of the world*, took its name from Academicus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyn-daridæ. But, famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about one hundred pounds, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments, for the particular use of the professors or masters of the Academic school; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city. *Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. § 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.*

and the natural difference of good and ill †: and, as he found the world generally prepossessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others, and attack the errors in vogue; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, *probability* ‡. While he himself therefore professed to *know nothing*, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science; and then teize them with a series of questions, so contrived, as to reduce them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending what they had at first affirmed §.

But Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his master Socrates; and his followers wholly deserted it: for, instead of the Socratic modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned philosophy, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect ||. Plato's

† Socrates—id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, et ab ipsa natura involutis—avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreretur, &c. Ibid. vid. it. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

‡ E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur; ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; et in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

§ Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum disserebat—de Fin. 2. 1.

|| Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, et nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt. Ita acta est, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quædam philosophiæ, et rerum ordo et descriptio disciplinæ. Academ. 1. 4.

nephew, Speusippus, who was left the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the Academy, and preserved the name of Academics; whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another Gymnasium, called the *Lyceum*; where, from a custom which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing as they walked in the porticos of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking philosophers. These two sects, though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State of Rewards and Punishments*.

This was the state of the Academic school under five successive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcesilas the sixth discarded at once all the systems of his predecessors, and revived the Socratic way, *of affirming nothing, doubting of all things*, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions†. He alleged the necessity of making this reformation, from that obscurity of things, which had reduced Socrates, and all the ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all

* Sed idem fons erat utrisque, et eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. (Acad. 1, 4, 6, 8.) Peripateticos et Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

† Arcesilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime eripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit—de Orat. 3. 18.

likewise done, "that the senses were narrow, reason infirm, life short, truth immersed in the deep, opinion and custom everywhere predominant; and all things involved in darkness ‡." He taught, therefore, "That there was no certain knowledge or perception of any thing in nature; nor any infallible criterion of truth and falsehood; that nothing was so detestable as rashness; nothing so scandalous to a philosopher, as to profess, what was either false or unknown to him; that we ought to assert nothing dogmatically; but in all cases to suspend our assent; and, instead of pretending to certainty, content ourselves with opinion, grounded on probability; which was all that a rational mind had to acquiesce in." This was called *the New Academy*, in distinction from *the Platonic*, or *the Old*: which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by a succession of able masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcesilas; who carried it to its utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence §.

‡ Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantie adduxerant Socratem, et—omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus et institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa, esse dixerunt. Acad. I. 13.

§ Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permansit. (Academ. I. 13.) Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit ætatem. (de Nat. Deor. I. 5.) Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades. De Orat. 3. 18.

We must not however imagine, that these academics continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting*: No, their rule was as certain and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by Cicero in many parts of his works. “We are “not of that sort” says he “whose mind is perpetually wandering in error, without any particular end “or object of its pursuit: for what would such a “mind, or such a life indeed be worth, which had “no determinate rule or method of thinking and “acting? but the difference between us and the rest “is, that whereas they call some things *certain*, and “others *uncertain*; we call the one *probable*, the “other *improbable*. For what reason then should “not I pursue *the probable*, reject the contrary, and, “declining the arrogance of affirming, avoid the imputation of rashness; which of all things is the “farthest removed from wisdom†? Again; we do “not pretend to say, that there is no such thing as “*truth*; but that all truths have some falsehoods annexed to them, of so near a resemblance and similitude, as to afford no certain note of distinction, “whereby to determine our judgment and assent: “whence it follows also of course, that there are “many things *probable*; which, though not perfectly “comprehended, yet, on account of their attractive “and specious appearance, are sufficient to govern “the life of a wise man‡. In another place, there

* Neque enim academici, cum in utramque disserunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

† De Offic. 2. 2.

‡ De Nat. Deor. l. 5.

“ is no difference, says he, between us and those
 “ who pretend to know things ; but that they never
 “ doubt of the truth of what they maintain ; where-
 “ as we have many *probabilities*, which we readily
 “ embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we preserve
 “ our judgment free and unprejudiced, and are un-
 “ der no necessity of defending what is prescribed
 “ and enjoined to us : whereas, in the other sects,
 “ men are tied down to certain doctrines, before
 “ they are capable of judging what is the best ; and,
 “ in the most infirm part of life, drawn either by the
 “ authority of a friend, or charmed with the first
 “ master whom they happen to hear, they form a
 “ judgment of things unknown to them ; and to
 “ whatever school they chance to be driven by the
 “ tide, cleave to it as fast as the oyster to the rock *.”

* Academ. 2. 3.—N. B. This sketch of the principles of the Academy, may enable us to decide that famous contest among the critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatise on *the nature of the gods*. [l. i. 1] “ De qua tam variae
 “ sunt doctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ,
 “ ut magno argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium
 “ philosophiæ esse, scientiam ; (inscientiam) ; prudenterque aca-
 “ demicos a rebus incertis assensionem cohibuisse.” The ques-
 “ tion is, whether we should read *scientiam* or *inscientiam* : the
 “ greatest part of the editions and MSS. gives us the first ; but Al-
 “ dus Manutius and Dr Davies prefer the second ; which I take to
 “ be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from
 “ the dissensions of the learned on a subject of so great importance,
 “ to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, that “ the natural
 “ obscurity of things, and man's consciousness of his ignorance,
 “ was the first cause or incitement to the study of philosophy.”
 “ Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he
 “ says, “ that to wonder at things was the common affection of a
 “ philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning to philoso-
 “ phy itself :” (in Thæt. p. 155. Edit. Serr.) whence Cicero draws
 “ this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of
 “ works, that the academy therefore acted prudently, in with-
 “ holding

Thus the Academy held the proper medium between the rigour of the stoic and the indifference of the sceptic: the stoics embraced all their doctrines as so many fixed and immutable truths, from which it was infamous to depart; and, by making this their point of honour, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The sceptics, on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, that it was this or that, since there was as much reason to take it for the one as for the other, or for neither of them; and wholly indifferent which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived, without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country*. But the academics, by adopting *the probable* instead of *the certain*, kept the balance in an equal poise between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; ne quid nimis. †

holding it's assent, and maintaining, that there was no such thing as science, or absolute certainty within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires *inscientiam* to make it consistent—See the translation of L'Abbe D'Olivet, and his notes on the place, and Edit. Davis. Cantab.

* Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

† ——— μέλλαν εἰς πάντα, τιμῶσέν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ἀκαδημία γινώσκον; ἢ πον. in lib. de ei apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido fin.

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical philosophy in general; so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place, is commonly thought to infer a right to the first*: and if we reflect on the state of the Heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and the infinite dissensions of the best and wisest on the fundamental questions of religion and morality†; we must necessarily allow, that the academic manner of philosophizing was of all others the most rational and modest, and the best adapted to the discovery of truth: whose peculiar character it was, to encourage inquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight‡. This it was that reduced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgment, to desert *the old academy*, and declare for *the new*; when, from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and, through a despair of finding *any thing certain*, he was glad, after all, to take up with the *probable* ||. But

* Academico sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum sectarum—secundæ partes dantur—ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragment. Acad. m. ex Augustin.

† De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Acad. m. 2. 3. 1. 13.

‡ Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem disserendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. Acad. m. 2. 3.

|| Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—

(ib.

the genius and general character of both the academies was in some measure still the same : for the old, though it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming ; and *the new* only the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two ; this appears from the writings of Plato, the first master of the old ; in which, as Cicero observes, nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed *. Yet there was another reason that recommended this philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero ; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an orator : since, by its practice of disputing for and against every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorical faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it, therefore, “ the parent of elegance and copiousness ; ” and declares, “ that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, “ not to the mechanic rules of the rhetoricians, but “ to the enlarged and generous principles of the academy †.”

(ib. 4.) Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verisimilia videam, non habeo : certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea posse dicunt, & se sapientes profitentur (Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.) Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmitus, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum derigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orator. fin.

* Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certe dicitur. Academ. 1. 13.

† Itaque mihi semper academice consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes disserendi, non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verisimile sit inveniri, sed

This school however was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples at Rome, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavoured to revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious : It imposed a hard task upon its scholars, of disputing against every sect and on every question in philosophy ; and, if it was difficult, as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all ? which was incumbent on those who professed themselves academics*. No wonder then that it lost ground every where, in proportion as ease and luxury prevailed, which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of Epicurus ; in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of Arcesilas, who being asked, “ Why so many of all
“ sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever
“ came back from them ? replied, That men might
“ be made eunuchs, but eunuchs could never become
“ men again †.”

sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio—(Tusc. Quæst. 2. 3. vid Quintil. 12. 2.) Ego autem fateor ; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex academiæ spatiis exitisse. (Orator. sub. init.) Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Proœm. Paradox.

* Quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in Græcia intelligo—nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes ? quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veri reperiendi causa, & contra omnes philosophos, & pro omnibus dicere. De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

† Diog. Laert. de Arcesila.—

Diogenes Laertius, and some later writers, speak of a third or *middle academy* between *the old and the new*, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make “ Plato the founder of the old, Arcesilas of the middle, Carneades of the new.” (See Stanley’s *Lives of Philosoph. in Carneades.*) But there was no real ground for such a distinction, since Cicero never mentions any other but the old and the new ; and expressly declares the *last* to have subsisted under that denomination down to his own

This general view of Cicero's philosophy will help us to account, in some measure, for that difficulty which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments, as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search ; since it was the distinguishing principle of the academy, to refute the opinions of others rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here ; for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explain them ; but it is the variety and different character of his several writings that perplexes the generality of his readers, for wherever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

His Orations are generally of the judicial kind, or the pleadings of an advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause, and to deliver, not so much what was true, as what was useful to his client ; the patronage of truth belonging in such cases to the judge, and not to the pleader ‡. It would be absurd,

days, as well under Carneades as Arcesilas ; and, so far from splitting them into *three academies*, Cicero's master, Philo, maintained constantly, in his books, that there never was in reality any more than one, grounding his argument on what I have observed above. the similar nature and genius of the two. Acad. i. 4.—*Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcesila & Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat. De Leg. i. 13.*

‡ *judicis est semper in causis verum sequi ; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere : quod scri-*

therefore, to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them: The thing does not admit of it, and he himself forbids us to expect it; and, in one of those orations, frankly declares the true nature of them all—"That man," says he, "is much mistaken, who thinks that, in these judicial pleadings, he has an authentic specimen of our opinions: They are the speeches of the causes and the times, not of the men or the advocates: If the causes could speak for themselves, no body would employ an orator; but we are employed to speak, not what we would undertake to affirm upon our authority, but what is suggested by the cause and the thing itself||." Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, "that those who are truly wise, and have spent their time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes, though they have resolved with themselves to be strictly honest in all their actions, yet will not scruple to use every argument that can be of service to the cause, which they have undertaken to defend§." In his Orations, therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech*.

bere, præsertim cum de philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.

|| Sed errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

§ Quintil. l. xi. 1.

* Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alleged for the truth of facts; especially those which were spoken to the senate or the people, where he refers to the acts and characters

His Letters indeed to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart ; yet, in these, some distinction must necessarily be observed, for, in letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is soliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion, and uses such as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But, as his letters in general seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except slightly and incidentally, so they will afford very little help to us in the discovery of his philosophical opinions, which are the subject of the present inquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now, the general purpose of these works was, to give a history rather of the ancient philosophy, than any account of his own, and to explain to his fellow-citizens, in their own language, whatever the philosophers, of all sects and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds and reform their morals, and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way †. This he de-

of persons then living, before an audience that was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it is in such cases chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them.

† *Nam cum otio langueremus, & is esset reipub. status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Acad. 1. 5. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Finib. 1. 3, 4.*

clares in his treatise called *de Finibus*, or on *the chief good or ill of man*; in that upon *the Nature of the Gods*; in his *Tusculan Disputations*; and in his book on *the Academic Philosophy*: in all which, he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a *Stoic*; sometimes of an *Epicurean*; sometimes of a *Peripatetic*; for the sake of explaining, with more authority, the different doctrines of each sect: And, as he assumes the person of the one to confute the other, so, in his proper character of an *Academic*, he sometimes disputes against them all, while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker, and, under that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him only in order to be confuted. But, in these dialogues, as in all his other works, wherever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgment upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an *Academic*, there he delivers his own opinions: And where he himself does not appear in the one scene, he takes care usually to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own sentiments; who was generally the principal speaker of the dialogue; as Crassus, in his treatise *on the Orator*; Scipio, in that *on the Republic*; Cato, in his piece *on Old Age*. This key will let us into his real thoughts, and enable us to trace his genuine notions through every part of his writings, from which I shall now proceed to give a short abstract of them.

As to *Physics*, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making

it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life†. For though he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the philosophers of any name, from the earliest antiquity, and has explained them all in his works, yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or, at least, to declare them. From his account, however, of those systems, we may observe, that several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first philosophers of whom we have any notice in history ; as, “ the motion of the earth ; “ the Antipodes ; a vacuum ; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter ;” which holds the world in its present form and order ||.

But, in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man, “ the being of a God ; a providence ; “ the immortality of the soul ; a future state of rewards and punishments, and the eternal difference “ of good and ill ;”—he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was “ one God, or supreme “ Being, incorporeal, eternal, self-existent ; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by “ his providence.” This he inferred from “ the con-

† Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, & maxime in physicis, quid non sit, citius, quam quid sit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Acad. 2. 39.

|| De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39.

“ sent of all nations ; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies ; the evident marks of counsel, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, observable in the whole, and in every part of the visible world ;” and declares that person “ unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance, when, with the utmost stretch of human wisdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived it §.”

He believed also a *divine Providence* constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it, with a peculiar attention *to the conduct and actions of men* ; but leaving *the minute and inferior parts* to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity ; *his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness* ; that could never desert or neglect what he had once produced into be-

§ Nec Deus ipse— alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam et libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. (Tusc. Quæst. 1. 27.) Sed omnes gentes, una lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebit, unusque erit quasi Magister, & Imperator omnium Deus. Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.

Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio— omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putandæ est. (Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.) Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus ; possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet,) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [1b. 28.] Id est primum, quod inter omnes, nisi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, et eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. [De Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

ing; and declares that, without this belief, there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world*.

He held likewise “the immortality of the soul, and “its separate existence after death in a state of happiness or misery.” This he inferred from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most exalted minds, from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn; from its unmixed and indivisible essence, which had nothing separable or perishable in it; from its wonderful powers and faculties; “its principle of “self-motion; its memory, invention, wit, comprehension, which were all incompatible with sluggish “matter †.”

The Stoics fancied that *the soul was a subtilized fiery substance*, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally, but was to perish at last in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero says, “the only thing

* De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari. [De Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlestia maxime. deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. Vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2. 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

† Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura? [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.] Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: Cumque semper agitur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 23, 25, 26, &c. De Amicit. 4.

“ that was hard to conceive, its separate existence
 “ from the body ; yet denied what was not only easy
 “ to imagine, but a consequence of the other, its e-
 “ ternal duration †. Aristotle taught, that, besides
the four elements of the material world, whence all o-
 ther things were supposed to draw their being, there
 was “ a fifth essence or nature, peculiar to God and
 “ the soul,” which had nothing in it that was com-
 mon to any of the rest ‖. This opinion Cicero fol-
 lowed, and illustrated with his usual perspicuity in
 the following passage :

“ The origin of the human soul,” says he, “ is not
 “ to be found any where on earth ; there is nothing
 “ mixed, concrete, or earthly ; nothing of water, air,
 “ or fire in it. For these natures are not susceptible
 “ of memory, intelligence or thought ; have nothing
 “ that can retain the past, foresee the future, lay
 “ hold on the present ; which faculties are purely
 “ divine, and could not possibly be derived to man,
 “ except from God. The nature of the soul there-
 “ fore is of a singular kind ; distinct from these known
 “ and obvious natures : and whatever it be that feels
 “ and tastes, that lives and moves in us, it must be
 “ heavenly and divine, and for that reason eternal.
 “ Nor is God indeed himself, whose existence we
 “ clearly discover, to be comprehended by us in any
 “ other manner, but as a free and pure mind, clear

† Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quæst. I. 9.]
 Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus ; diu
 mansuros aiunt animos, semper regant—qui, quod in tota hæc
 causa difficillimum est, suscipiunt, posse animum manere corpore
 vacantem : Illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est,
 sed, eo concesso quod volunt, consequens ideoque, non dant, ut cum
 diu permanserit nè intereat. Ib. I. 31, 32.

“ from all mortal concretion ; observing and moving
 “ all things ; and indued with an eternal principle
 “ of self motion : of this kind, and of the same na-
 “ ture, is the human soul. *

As to a *future state of rewards and punishments*, he considered it as a consequence of the soul's immortality ; deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth ; and thought it so highly probable, “ that we could hardly doubt of “ it,” he says, “ unless it should happen to our minds, “ when they look unto themselves, as it does to our “ eyes, when they look too intensely at the sun, that “ finding their sight dazzled, they give over look- “ ing at all.” † In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whose judgment he professes so great a reverence, that “ if they had given no reasons, “ where yet they had given many, he should have “ been persuaded,” he says, “ by their sole authori- “ ty.” ‡ Socrates, therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying speech, “ that there were two ways ap- “ pointed to human souls at their departure from “ the body : that those who had been immersed in “ sensual pleasures and lusts, and had polluted them- “ selves with private vices or public crimes against “ their country, took an obscure and devious road, “ remote from the seat and assembly of the gods ; “ whilst those who had preserved their integrity, and “ received little or no contagion from the body,

* Ib. 27.

† Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tusc. Quest. I. 30.

‡ Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4.

“ from which they had constantly abstracted themselves, and in the bodies of men imitated the life of the gods, had an easy ascent lying open before them to those gods from whom they derived their being. *

From what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning *the religion of his country*: for a mind enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not only he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their gods, and the fictions of their *infernal torments* †, shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good citizens. ‡

* Ib. 30.

† Dic, quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocytii fremitus? transvectio Acherontis?—adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?—(ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.) Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? de Nat. Deor. 2. 2.

‡ Ordinar ab haruspicina, quam ego reipub. causa, communisque religionis, colendam censeo. (de divin. 2. 12.) Nam et majorum instituta tueri sacris caerimonisque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. de Leg. 2. 12, 13.—N. B. There is a reflection in Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on this subject. “The greatest advantage,” says he, “which the Roman government seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them about the gods; and that very thing, which is so generally decried by other mortals, sustained the republic of Rome; I mean, superstition. For this was carried by
“there,

Their religion consisted of two principal branches; *the observation of the auspices, and the worship of the gods*: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to divine admonitions from portents; monstrous births; the entrails of beasts in sacrifice; and the prophecies of the sibyls.* The college of augurs presided over the auspices, as the supreme interpreters of the will of Jove; and determined what signs were propitious, and what not: the other priests were the judges of all the other cases relating to religion; as well of what concerned the public worship, as that of private families.†

“ them to such a height, and introduced so effectually both into
 “ the private lives of the citizens, and the public affairs of the ci-
 “ ty, that one cannot help being surprised at it. But I take it all
 “ to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a
 “ society could be formed of wise men only, such a scheme would
 “ not be necessary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and
 “ agitated by illicit desires, wild resentments, violent passions;
 “ there was no way left of restraining them, but by the help of
 “ such secret terrors, and tragical fictions. It was not, therefore,
 “ without great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took
 “ care to instil into them these notions of the gods and infernal
 “ punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now
 “ rashly and absurdly endeavouring to extirpate.” Polyb.
 l. 6. p. 497.

* Cum omnis populi Romani religio in sacra & in auspicia di-
 visa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid predictionis causa ex por-
 tentis et monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, haruspicesve monuerunt.
 de Nat. Deor. 3, 2.

†—Cur sacris pontifices, cur auspiciis augures præsent? (ib. l.
 44.) Est autem boni auguris, meminisse maximis reipub. tempo-
 ribus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarum
 atque administrum datum—de Leg. 3. 19.

Now the priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the *augurs* especially were commonly senators of consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the republic, and, by their power over the auspices, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve at once all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of the sibyl's prophecies was vested in the *decemviri*, or guardians of the sibylline books; ten persons of distinguished rank chosen usually from the priests: And the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the *haruspices*; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the Magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

This constitution of a religion, among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the senate, and the better sort; who by this advantage frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the tribunes*: so that it was perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the republic; though considered all the while by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part that admitted any dispute

* Omnibus magistratibus auspicia—dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent moræ: sæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales represserunt. De Leg. 3. 12.

concerning its origin, was augury, or their method of divining by auspices. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted on the nature of things “ certain marks or notices of future “ events ; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of “ birds, thunder, and other celestial signs,” which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined, and applied to the event that was signified by it. This they called *artificial divination*, in distinction from *the natural*, which they supposed to flow from an instinct or native power, implanted in the soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as *in dreams and madness* †. But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other philosophers ; and of all the college of Augurs, there was but one at this time who maintained it, Appius Claudius ; who was laughed at for his pains by the rest, and called the Pisidian ‡ : it occasioned, however, a smart controversy between him and his colleague Marcellus, who severally published books on each side of the question ; wherein Marcellus asserted the whole affair to be the contrivance of statesmen ; Appius, on the contrary, that

† Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ—est enim vis et natura quædam, quæ cum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, inflatque divino futura prænunciat. De Div. I. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

‡ Quem irridebant collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum augurum esse dicebant. Ib. 47.

The Pisidians were a barbarous people of the lesser Asia ; famous for their superstitious observance of *the Auspices*, or their divination by the flight of birds. De Divin. I. 41, 42.

there was a real art and power of divining, subsisting in the Augural discipline, and taught by the Augural books §. Appius dedicated this treatise to Cicero ||: who, though he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, "that Augury might probably be instituted
 "at first upon a persuasion of its divinity; and
 "when, by the improvement of arts and learning,
 "that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet
 "the thing itself was wisely retained, for the sake of
 "its use to the republic*."

But whatever was the origin of the religion of Rome, Cicero's religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a *God, a Providence, an Immortality*. He considered this short period of our life on earth as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter; that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not so much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens; on which were imprinted, in legible characters, all the duties of that nature which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged

§ Sed est in Collegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, optimos Augures, magna dissensio: cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. composita; altera disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus posse videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

|| Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti. Ep. fam. 3. 4.

* Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque signorum observatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspiciato condidit, habuisse opinionem, esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Divin. 2. 33.

to no other animal but man; to whom God, for that reason, had given an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on high and sublime, in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed†. He took the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be the *promulgation of God's law*, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; till, by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

From this source, he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation; from *the will of God, manifested in his works*; or from that eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls “the original, immutable law; the criterion of good and ill; of just and unjust;” imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are

† Sed credo Deos sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo et constantia, &c. (Cato 21.) Nam cum cæteras animantes adjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quasi cognationis, domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit. (De Leg. 1. 9.) Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56.

to be formed ; “ which, whenever they deviate from
 “ this pattern, ought,” he says, “ to be called any thing
 “ rather than laws ; and are, in effect, nothing but
 “ acts of force, violence, and tyranny : that to ima-
 “ gine the distinction of good and ill not to be found-
 “ ed in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human in-
 “ stitution, is mere folly and madness ;” which would
 overthrow all society, and confound all right and
 justice amongst men ‡ : that this was the constant
 opinion of the wisest of all ages ; who held, “ that
 “ the mind of God, governing all things by eternal
 “ reason, was the principal and sovereign law ; whose
 “ substitute on earth was the reason or mind of the
 “ wise :” to which purpose, there are many strong
 and beautiful passages scattered occasionally through
 every part of his works §.

‡ Sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum cœlestium
 adfert iis, qui videant, quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio,
 quantus ordo ; et magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera et facta
 cernentibus ; justitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid sit
 summi Rectoris et Domini numen, quod consilium, quæ volun-
 tas ; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa et summa lex a philo-
 sophis dicitur. De Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia nisi nature norma divi-
 dere possumus. Nec solum jus et injuria natura dijudicantur, sed
 omnino omnia honesta ac turpia ; nam et communis intelligentia
 nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoat, ut honesta
 in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione exis-
 timare, non in natura posita, dementis est. (De Leg. 1. 16.)
 Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura ; et ad recte faciendum
 impellens, et a delicto avocans ; quæ non tum demum incipit lex
 esse, cum scripta est, sed tum, cum orta est ! orta autem simul
 est cum menta divina : quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta
 ad jubendum et ad vetandum, recta est ratio summi Jovis, &c.
 De Leg. 2. 4, 5. &c.

§ Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem
 neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec scitum aliquod esse po-
 pulorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret,
 imperandi, prohibendique sapientia, &c. Ib. &c.

“ The true law,” says he, “ is right reason, conformable to the nature of things ; constant, eternal, diffused through all ; which calls us to duty by commanding, deters us from sin by forbidding ; which never loses its influence with the good ; nor ever preserves it with the wicked. This cannot possibly be over-ruled by any other law ; nor abrogated in the whole or in part : nor can we be absolved from it either by the senate or the people : nor are we to seek any other comment or interpreter of it, but itself : nor can there be one law at Rome, another at Athens ; one now, another hereafter ; but the same eternal immutable law, comprehends all nations, at all times, under one common Master and Governor of all, God. He is the inventor, propounder, enactor of this law : and whosoever will not obey it, must first renounce himself, and throw off the nature of man ; by doing which, he will suffer the greatest punishment, though he should escape all the other torments which are commonly believed to be prepared for the wicked ||.”

In another place, he tells us, that the study of this law was the only thing which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be prescribed by the Pythian Oracle, *to know ourselves* ; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system ; the relation that we bear to all other things ; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world. “ When a man,” says he, “ has attentively surveyed the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all

“ things in them ; observed whence they sprung,
 “ and whither they all tend ; when and how they
 “ are to end ; what part is mortal and perishable,
 “ what divine and eternal : when he has almost
 “ reached and touched, as it were, the governor and
 “ ruler of them all, and discovered himself not to be
 “ confined to the walls of any certain place, but a
 “ citizen of the world, as of one common city ; in
 “ this magnificent view of things ; in this enlarged
 “ prospect and knowledge of nature ; good Gods,
 “ how will he learn *to know himself* ? How will he
 “ contemn, despise, and set at nought all those things,
 “ which the vulgar esteem the most splendid and
 “ glorious * ? ”

These were the principles on which Cicero built
 his religion and morality, which shine indeed through
 all his writings, but were largely and explicitly il-
 lustrated by him in his *treatises on government and*
laws ; to which he added afterwards his *book of offi-*
ces, to make the scheme complete : volumes which,
 as the elder Pliny says to the emperor Titus, ought
 not only *to be read, but to be got by heart*. † The
 first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a
 few fragments, in which he had delivered his real
 thoughts so professedly, that in a letter to Atticus,
 he calls those six books on the republic, so many
 pledges given to his country, for the integrity of his
 life ; from which, if ever he swerved, he could never
 have the face to look into them again. ‡ In his

* De Legib. i. 23.

† Quæ volumina ejus ediscenda non modo in manibus habenda
 quotidie, nosti. Præf. ad Hist. Nat.

‡ Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipsum ob-
 strinxerem ;

Book of Laws, he pursued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from the will of the supreme God. These two pieces therefore contain his belief, and the Book of Offices his practice : where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life conformable to the divine principles which he had established in the other two ; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system.* This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he addressed it ; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explain to him the maxims by which he had governed it ; and teach him the way of passing through the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness : where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. Paul, to be taught *by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles*, to guide them through that state of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will : and this scheme of it professed by Cicero, was certainly the most complete that the Gentile world had ever been acquainted with ; the utmost effort that human nature could make towards attaining its proper end ; or that supreme good for which the Creator had designed it : upon the con-

obstrinxerem ; quos tibi tam valde prebari gaudeo. (ad Att. 6. 1.) Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu diligas. si tale quid fecero ? ibid. 2.

* Offic, 3. 5, 6, 17.

templation of which sublime truths, as delivered by a heathen, Erasmus could not help persuading himself, "that the breast from which they flowed must needs have been inspired by the Deity." *

But after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them as the flourishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since, in other parts of his works, he seems to intimate not only a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness. † But in all

* Quid aliis accidat nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Erasm. Ep ap Job. Ulattenum.

† Sæpissime & legi & audiui, nihil mali esse in morte: in qua si resideat sensus immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est: sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quæ non sentiat. (Ep. fam. 5. 16.) Ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. (ib. 21.) Sed hæc consolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor, nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa; et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. (ib. 6. 3.) Deinde—si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea rep. avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. (ib. 4.) Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenierit, ferre moderate, præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum. (ib. 21.) Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut si quis est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x. N. B. By this illustration of Cicero's moral principles, we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of *following nature, as the sure and unerring guide of life*. (de Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.) by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falsely called natural; being the motions only of vitiated appetites, and the creatures

the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of *death as the end of all things to man*, as they are addressed to friends in distress by way of consolation, so some commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death is the end of all things here below, and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, *to an utter extinction of our being*; it must be observed, that he was writing in all probability to Epicureans,* and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them, from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always, that Cicero was an academic; and though he believed *a future state*, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it,—yet he believed it as *probable* only, not as *certain*†: and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also

creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, *is more contrary to nature*, and consequently more to be avoided, than *poverty, pain, or even death itself*. (Offic. 3. 5, 6.)

† This will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect, that the generality of the Roman nobility, and of Cicero's friends, were of the Epicurean sect; and particularly the family of Torquatus, to whom two of these very letters were addressed.—*Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.*

† *Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint & fixa quæ dixero: sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilis conjectura sequens. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.*

some variety in the stability of our persuasion : thus, in a melancholy hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force ; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humoured his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alleged were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the height of Cæsar's power ; and though we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of the academy, he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But, after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question. *

* From this general view of Cicero's religion, one cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit, of a more explicit Revelation : for though the *natural law*, in the perfection to which it was carried by Cicero, might serve for a sufficient guide to the few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been so long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and study ; and could not produce in them at last any thing more than a hope, never a full persuasion ; whilst the greatest part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquisitive, lived " without the knowledge of " a God, or the expectation of a futurity ; " and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the popular worship. When we reflect on all this, we must needs see abundant reason to be thankful to God, *for the divine light of his gospel ; which has revealed at last to babes, what was hidden from the wise ;*
and

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he : his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true interest inseparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the same : to support the peace and liberty of the republic, in that form and constitution of it which their ancestors had delivered down to them.* He looked upon that as the only foundation on which it could be supported ; and used to quote a verse of old Ennius, as the dictate of an oracle, which derived all the glory of *Rome* from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque. †

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, “ that as the end of a pilot is a prosperous voyage ; of a physician, the health of his patient ; of a general, victory ; so that of a statesman is, to make his citizens happy ; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue : which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men :” ‡ and as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of

and, without the pains of searching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not only the hope, but the assurance of happiness ; and made us not only the believers, but *the heirs of immortality*.

* Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvis liberique sint. Ep. fam. I. 24.

† Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de repub. l. 5.

‡ Ut gubernatori cursus secundus—sic huic moderatori reipæ, beata civium vita proposita est, &c. vid. ibid. —

a city†; so it was his constant aim to unite the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other; so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the senate; that the one should *enact*, but the other *advise*; the one have the *last resort*, the other the *chief influence*‡. This was the old constitution of *Rome*, by which it had raised itself to all its grandeur; whilst all its misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of distrust and dissension between these two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw the ascendant in all affairs into the hands of the senate and the Magistrates, as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people: which will always be the general view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

This was the principle which he espoused from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and, though in some passages of his history, he may be thought perhaps to have deviated from it, yet, upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find, that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it; when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling force, and a necessary regard to his own safety: so

† *Quæ harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, arctissimum atque optimum omni in repub. vinculum incolunitatis, &c. ibid. l. 2.*

‡ Nam—si senatus dominus sit publici consilii—possit, ex temperatione juris, cum potestas in populo, auctoritas in senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis status. *De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.*

that he might say, with great truth, what an Athenian orator once said, in excuse of his inconstancy; that he had acted, indeed, on some occasions, contrary to himself, but never to the republic*: and here also his academic philosophy seems to have shewed its superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reason require; and, when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

The *three Sects*, which at this time chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome, were, *the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic*; and the chief ornament of each were, Cato, Atticus, and Cicero; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of *these three* will shew, by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

The Stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed "perfect happiness in virtue, "though stript of every other good; affirmed all "sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally "wicked; to kill a dunghill cock without reason, "the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise "man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity; never be deceived; never re-

* Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

“pent; never change his mind†.” With these principles Cato entered public life; and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus‡. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and, whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on, and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force; whilst the rigour of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and, by provoking the power that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin which he was striving to avert§: so that, after a perpetual course of disappoint-

† Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum; viri non esse, neque exorari, neque placari; omnia peccata esse paria — nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei poenitere, nulla in refalli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muraen. 29.

‡ Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli sæce, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. l. p. 272.

§ Pompeium et Cæsarem, quorum necesse alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demerzetur, (Cato) simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

ments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life.

But, as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low ; as those raised it to the heroic, these debased it to the brutal state : they held “ pleasure to be the chief good of man ; death the extinction of his being ;” and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life : esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure ; and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man, therefore, had no other duty but to provide for his own ease ; to decline all struggles ; to retire from public affairs ; and to imitate the life of their Gods ; by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose ; in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme that Atticus followed : he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society ; great parts, learning, judgment, candour, benevolence, generosity ; the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero || ; whom he was always advising and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself ; or never, at least, so far as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For, tho’ he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued

|| In *Repub.* ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset, et existimaretur ; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret. *Corn. Nep. vit. Att.* 6.

him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony ; that he might secure, against all events, the grand point which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus, two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country ; each in a different extreme of life ; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good ; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

Cicero chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato and the indolence of Atticus : He preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him ; if not, took the next that seemed likely to bring him to the same end ; and, in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He oft compares the statesman to the pilot, whose art consists in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage, so as, “ by changing his course, and enlarging “ his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though “ later, at his destined port *.” He mentions likewise an observation, which long experience had con-

* Nunquam enim præstantibus in repub. gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio : Sed ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas : Cum vero id possis mutata velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cursum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

firmed to him, that “ none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and “ to be leaders in the republic, ever chose to obtain “ their ends from the people, till they had first been “ repulsed by the senate †.” This was verified by all their civil dissensions, from the Gracchi down to Cæsar ; so that, when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government, who, by the splendour of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace, it was his constant advice to the senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclaim them from desperate counsels. He declared contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did service, or, at least, no hurt ; but, when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting, and nothing left but to extract some good out of the ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state ‡. This was what he advised, and what he practised ; and it will account, in a great measure,

† *Neminem unquam est hic ordo amplexus honoribus et beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.*

‡ *Sed contentio tamdiu sapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati : Voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.*

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere ; sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis si quid inesset boni. De Off. 1. 1.

for those parts of his conduct which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance which he is supposed to have paid, at different times, to the several usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction between “bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn ||;” and submitted, therefore, yet never consented to those usurpations; and, when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But, whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without controul, as in his consulship, in his province, and after Cæsar’s death, the only periods of his life in which he was truly master of himself, there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent citizen, a great magistrate, a glorious patriot: There we see the man who could declare of himself, with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, “that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or, when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it but what was divine §.” If we must needs compare him therefore with Cato, as some writers affect to do, it is certain that, if Cato’s virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero’s will be found superior in practice: The one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements

|| Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, et probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. Fam. 9. 6.

§ Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de re-pub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

of the schools, the other from nature and social life ; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful, the other always beneficial, often salutary to the republic.

To conclude : Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely, but was the proper end of such a life, which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was therefore what he not only expected, but, in the circumstances to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished *. For he, who before had been timid in dangers, and desponding in distress, yet, from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by the desperate state of the republic †, assumed the fortitude of a hero ; discarded all fear ; despised all danger ; and, when he could not free his country from a tyranny, provoked the tyrants to take that life which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus, like a great actor on the stage, he reserved himself as it were for the last act, and, after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

The character of his son MARCUS has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light ; for he is represented generally, both by the ancients and moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy ‡ : Yet, when we come to inquire in-

* Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi ; hoc denique animo sum, ut si in hac cura atque administratione, vita mihi ponenda sit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. Fam. 9. 24.

† Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis, confirmatus est multum. Ep. Fam. 5. 21.

‡ Ciceronem filium quæ res consulem fecit, nisi pater ? Senec.

to the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modest, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises, so that, in the Pharsalic war, at the age of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier ||. Not long after Pompey's death, he was sent to Athens, to spend a few years in the study of philosophy and polite letters under Cratippus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time, for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome §. Here, indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, his master of rhetoric, a lover of wine and pleasure, whom Cicero, for that reason, expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus; so that his father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his allowance, which

de Benef. 4. 30. *Nam virtutes omnes aberant; stupor & vitia aderant. Lipsii Not. ad locum.*

|| Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem et a summo viro, et ab exercitu consequere, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando. Offic. 2. 13.

§ Plutar. in Vit. Cicer.

seems to have been about seven hundred pounds per annum *.

From this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him, and in terms so particular and explicit, that they could not proceed from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero, as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus †. Thus, Trebonius, as he was passing into Asia, writes to him from Athens: "I came hither on the twenty-first of May, where I saw your son; and saw him, to my great joy, pursuing every thing that was good, and in the highest credit for the modesty of his behaviour.—Do not imagine, my Cicero, that I say this to flatter you, for nothing can be more beloved than your young man is by all who are at Athens, nor more studious of all those arts which you yourself delight in, that is, the best. I congratulate with you therefore very heartily, which I can do with great truth, and not less also with myself, that he, whom we were obliged to love, of what temper soever he had happened to be, proves to be such an one as we should chuse to love ‡."

But the son's own letters gave the most solid comfort to his father, as they were written not only with

* Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti, ulli ut neque severius, neque temperatius scribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. It. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plutar. in Cicer.

† Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen retinet illud suum *adbuc*, summis vero laudibus Herodes. [Ad Att. 15. 16.] Grattissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. Ib. 17. ‡ Ep. Fam. 12. 16. Vid. lt. 14.

great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, “ that they were fit, (he says,) to “ be read to a learned audience ; and, though in other points he might possibly be deceived, yet, in “ these, he saw a real improvement both of his taste “ and learning ||.” None of these letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero’s talents, but two letters to Tiro ; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper, written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro’s rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Athens, when he was about nineteen years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

“ While I was expecting every day with impatience “ your messengers from Rome, they came at last on “ the forty-sixth day after they left you. Their arrival was extremely agreeable to me, for my father’s “ most indulgent and affectionate letter gave me an “ exceeding joy, which was still highly increased by “ the receipt also of yours ; so that, instead of being “ sorry for my late omission of writing, I was rather “ pleased that my silence had afforded me so particular a proof of your humanity. It is a great pleasure “ therefore to me, that you accepted my excuse so readily. I do not doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the

|| A Cicerone mihi literæ sane *πεπινωμεναι*, et bene longæ.— Cætera autem vel fingi possunt : *πῖνος* literarum significat doctorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius literæ sic et *φιλοσοφίας*, & *εμπινῶς* scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere : Quo magis illi indulgendum puto. Ib. 15. 17. Vid. ib. 16.

“ reports which are now brought of me give you a real
“ satisfaction. It shall be my care and endeavour, that
“ this growing fame of me shall every day come more
“ and more confirmed to you; and since you promise
“ to be the trumpeter of my praises, you may ven-
“ ture to do it with assurance; for the past errors of
“ my youth have mortified me so sensibly, that my
“ mind does not only abhor the facts themselves, but
“ my ears cannot even endure the mention of them.
“ I am perfectly assured that, in all this regret and soli-
“ tude, you have borne no small share with me; nor
“ is it to be wondered at; for, though you wish me
“ all success for my sake, you are engaged also to
“ do it for your own: since it was always my resolu-
“ tion to make you the partner of every good that
“ may befall me. As I have before therefore been
“ the occasion of sorrow to you, so it shall now be
“ my business to double your joy on my account.
“ You must know that I live in the utmost intimacy
“ with Cratippus; and like a son, rather than a scho-
“ lar: for I not only hear his lectures with pleasure,
“ but am infinitely delighted with his conversation.
“ I spend whole days with him, and frequently also
“ a part of the night: for I prevail with him, as
“ often as I can, to sup with me; and, in our fami-
“ liar chat, as we sit at table, the night steals upon
“ us without thinking of it, whilst he lays aside the
“ severity of his philosophy, and jokes amongst us
“ with all the good humour imaginable. Contrive,
“ therefore, to come to us as soon as possible, and
“ see this agreeable and excellent man. For what
“ need I tell you of Brutius? whom I never part

“ with out of my sight. His life is regular and ex-
“ emplary, and his company the most entertaining :
“ he has the art of introducing questions of literature
“ into conversation, and seasoning philosophy with
“ mirth. I have hired a lodging for him in the next
“ house to me ; and support his poverty, as well as I
“ am able, out of my narrow income. I have begun
“ also to declaim in Greek under Cassius ; but chuse
“ to exercise myself in Latin with Bruttius. I live
“ likewise in great familiarity, and the perpetual
“ company of those, whom Cratippus brought with
“ him from Mitylene ; who are men of learning, and
“ highly esteemed by him. Epicrates also, the lead-
“ ing man at Athens, and Leonidas, spend much of
“ their time with me ; and many others of the same
“ rank. This is the manner of my life at present.
“ As to what you write about Gorgias, he was useful
“ to me indeed in my daily exercise of declaiming ;
“ but I gave up all considerations for the sake of
“ obeying my father ; who wrote peremptorily that
“ I should dismiss him instantly. I complied there-
“ fore without hesitation ; lest, by shewing any re-
“ luctance, I might raise in him some suspicion of
“ me. Besides, I reflected, that it would seem inde-
“ cent in me to deliberate upon the judgment of a
“ father. Your zeal, however, and advice upon it,
“ are very agreeable to me. I admit your excuse of
“ want of leisure, for I know how much your time
“ is commonly taken up. I am mightily pleased
“ with your purchase of a farm, and heartily wish
“ you joy of it. Do not wonder at my congratulat-
“ ing you in this part of my letter, for it was the

“ reports which are now brought of me give you a real
“ satisfaction. It shall be my care and endeavour, that
“ this growing fame of me shall every day come more
“ and more confirmed to you; and since you promise
“ to be the trumpeter of my praises, you may venture
“ to do it with assurance; for the past errors of
“ my youth have mortified me so sensibly, that my
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“ are very agreeable to me. I admit your excuse of
“ want of leisure, for I know how much your time
“ is commonly taken up. I am mightily pleased
“ with your purchase of a farm, and heartily wish
“ you joy of it. Do not wonder at my congratulat-
“ ing you in this part of my letter, for it was the

“ same part of yours, in which you informed me of
“ the purchase. You have now a place, where you
“ may drop all the forms of the city, and are become
“ a Roman of the old rustic stamp. I please myself
“ with placing your figure before my eyes, and ima-
“ gining that I see you bartering for your country
“ wares, or consulting with your bailiff, or carrying
“ off from your table, in a corner of your vest, the
“ seeds of your fruits and melons for your garden.
“ But to be serious ; I am as much concerned as you
“ are, that I happened to be out of the way, and
“ could not assist you on that occasion : but depend
“ upon it, my Tiro, I will make you easy one time
“ or other, if fortune does not disappoint me : espe-
“ cially since I know that you have bought this farm
“ for the common use of us both. I am obliged to
“ you for your care in executing my orders ; but beg
“ of you, that a librarian may be sent to me in all
“ haste, and especially a Greek one : for I waste
“ much of my time in transcribing the lectures and
“ books that are of use to me. Above all things,
“ take care of your health, that we may live to hold
“ many learned conferences together. I recommend
“ Antherus to you. Adieu *.”

This was the situation of young Cicero when Brutus arrived at Athens : who, as it has been already said, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles ; of which he sent a high encomium to his father ; and entrusted him, though but twenty years old, with a principal command in his army : in which he acquitted himself with a singular repu-

* Ep. fam. 16. 21.

tation both of courage and conduct ; and in several expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battle of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey, who had taken possession of Sicily with a great army, and fleet superior to any in the empire. This was the last refuge of the poor republicans : where young Cicero was received again with particular honours ; and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty ; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Romans, who were then in arms with him †.

Cicero therefore took his leave of Pompey, and returned to Rome with the rest of his party : where he lived for some time in the condition of a private nobleman ; remote from affairs and the court of the emperor ; partly through the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles ; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and the intemperate love of wine ; which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published a volume on the triumphs of his drinking. Young Cicero is said to have practised it to great excess ; and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to swallow at a draught :

† Appian. p. 619. 713.

“ as if he had resolved,” says Pliny, “ to deprive Antony, the murderer of his father, of the glory of being the first drunkard of the empire ‡.”

Augustus however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a priest or augur §, as well as one of those magistrates who presided over the coinage of the public money ; in regard to which there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appius Claudius on the other ; who was one of his colleagues in this office ||. But, upon the last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the sole master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the consulship : so that his letters, which brought the news of the victory at Actium, and conquest of Egypt, were addressed to

‡ Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam ; edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.

§ Appian. p. 619.

|| Vid. And. Morell. Thesaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called *Treviri*, or *Triumviri Monetales* ; and in medals and old inscriptions are described thus ; III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *Auro*, *Argento*, *Ære Flando*, *Feriundo*. Their number had always been three, till J. Cæsar, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to four : whence in the coin of Cicero, just mentioned, we find him called, IIII. VIR. There was another magistrate also of lower rank at Rome, called *Treviri Capitales*, who tried and judged all capital crimes among foreigners and slaves, or even citizens of inferior condition : in allusion to which, Cicero has a pleasant joke, in one of his letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæsar in his wars against the *Treviri*, one of the most fierce and warlike nations of Gaul : “ I admonish you,” says he, “ to keep out of the way of those *Treviri* : they are of the capital kind, I hear : I wish rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver. Ep. fam. 7. 13.

Cicero the consul, who had the pleasure of publishing them to the senate and people ; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered all the statues and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his family should ever after bear the name of Marcus. By paying this honour to the son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the father ; and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there ; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero*. Some honours are mentioned likewise to have been decreed by Cicero, in this consulship, to his partner Augustus ; particularly an obsidional crown ; which, though made only of the common grass that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet, in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the noblest reward of military glory ; and never bestowed but for the deliverance of an army, when reduced to the last distress †. This crown therefore had not been given above eight times from the foundation of Rome : but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honours were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning monarch.

* Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian. p. 619. 672.

† Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam nisi in desperatione suprema contigit ulli ; nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta—eadem vocatur obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis.—Ipsam Augustum M. Cicerone consulem, idibus Septembribus senatus obsidionali donavit, &c. Vid. Plin. Hist. N. 20. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Soon after Cicero's Consulship, he was made Proconsul of Asia ; or, as Appian says, of *Syria* ; one of the most considerable provinces of the empire : from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died probably soon after, before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the councils of the state : but, from the honours already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemished by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity : and amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained his father's wit and politeness. *

There are two stories related of him, which shew that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes : for being in company with some friends, where he drunk very hard ; in the heat of wine and passion, he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa ; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in Rome. † He was provoked to it probably by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquished cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of Asia, one Cestius, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that it was the man that used to insult his father, and declare that he knew nothing of po-

* Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

† Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento scyphum impactum. Plin. Hist. N. 14. 22.

lite letters, ordered him to be taken away, and publicly whipt. *

His nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory: to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served with much honour to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily. If his life, therefore, did not correspond with the splendour of his father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his father's honours, or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had lived in better times, and a free republic, though he would not have been so eminent a scholar, or orator, or statesman as his father, yet he would have excelled him probably in that character, which conferred a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplished general.

The characters of Q. Cicero the brother, of his son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this history, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to Rome; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped

* M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

to have executed this, before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the city, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make sure of the Ciceros, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of the two. The son urged the same petition to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the same time.*

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has been already observed of him, that he was a perfect master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time; but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event

* Dio p. 333. Appian. 601. Plutar. in Cic.

and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and, in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of Italy, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services to his friends at Rome; and above all, to his wife and children; whom he assisted, not only with his advice, but with his money also, on all occasions of their distress: so that when Antony came to Rome, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus; and no sooner learnt where he was, than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately; and assigned him a guard, to protect him from any insults of the soldiers. *

It must be imputed likewise to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his safety, that after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a single letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with singular care; lest in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with his new masters.

† Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esse Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus destinarentur—sponsor omnium rerum fuerit—itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem—Antonius autem—ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret—ac ne quid periculum incidere;—præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici x.

But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation, than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose minister and favourite Agrippa was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his grand-daughter with his successor Tiberius.* Thus he added dignity to his quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished; happy and honourable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is entirely owing to the circumstance of his having been Cicero's friend: for this, after all, was the chief honour of his life: and, as Seneca truly observed, "it was the epistles of Cicero which preserved him from oblivion; and neither his son Agrippa, nor grand-son Tiberius, nor great-grand-son Drusus, would have been of any service to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, had not given him an immortality.†

* *Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. (ibid. 12.) Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.*

† *Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis Epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil ille profuisset gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Drusus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep. 21.*

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